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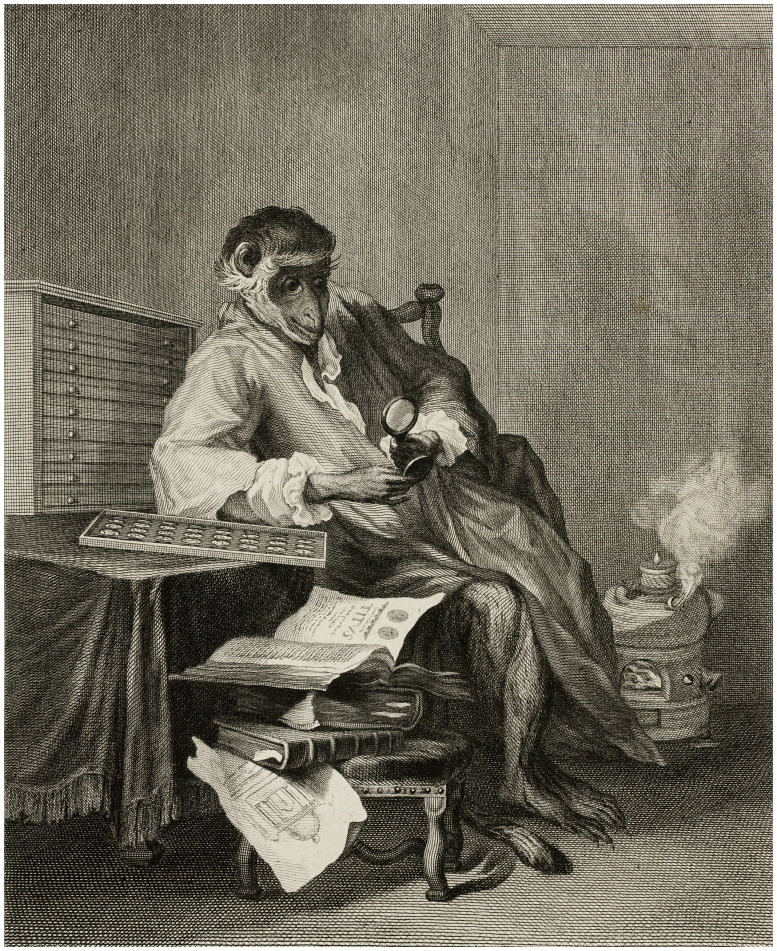

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Contents

Parolles de Makisabé: A Bodéwadmi Account
of How the Fox Wars Began | **1**
IAN TONAT

The Bolivarian Moment: Neoclassicism
and the Creole Political Class | **26**
FRANCESCA LANGER

From Baron to Bourgeois: Thomas West,
Lord De La Warr, Governor of Virginia (1610–1618) | **49**
E.M. ROSE

Natural Designs: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and the Invention of New World Nature, by Elizabeth Gansen | *Forum* | **81**
RICARDO PADRÓN

Awakening the Ashes: An Intellectual History of the Haitian Revolution,
by Marlene Daut | *Forum* | **84**
JEREMY D. POPKIN

The Tapuia of Northeastern Brazil in Dutch Sources (1628–1648),
by Martijn van den Bel & Mariana Françozo | *Forum* | **87**
MARK MEUWESE

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Parolles de Makisabé: A Bodéwadmi Account of How the Fox Wars Began

IAN TONAT

In August 1712, Makisabé, a Bodéwadmi (Potawatomi) chief from a village on the St. Joseph River in what is presently southwestern Michigan, traveled to Montreal, where he met with the governor-general of New France, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. Vaudreuil and Makisabé were allies, as their respective peoples had been since the 1670s, and Makisabé had come to explain his role in the fighting that had broken out at the French post of Detroit that June between two groups of France's Indigenous allies. The first group centered on a coalition of Anishinaabemowin-speaking peoples—the Bodéwadmi, Odawa, and Anishinaabe (Ojibwe)—but also included many Illinois, Myaamia (Miami), and Wendat (Huron). On the other side was an alliance of Central Algonquian-speaking peoples—the Meskwaki (Fox), Mascouten, and Kickapoo—who, until recently, had lived primarily west of Lake Michigan in what is currently Wisconsin. Makisabé and an Odawa chief from the Grand River named Saguima claimed to have organized the attack on the Meskwaki and their allies.

Ultimately, this fighting, which soon came to include the French, led to nearly two decades of conflict between the French and Meskwaki alliance networks, known to historians as the Fox Wars (1712–1733), the final stages of which saw a genocidal campaign by the French that nearly destroyed the Meskwaki as a people. The record of what Makisabé told Vaudreuil on August 17, 1712, titled "Parolles de Makisabé" ("Words of Makisabé"), thus provides a crucial Indigenous perspective on the beginnings of a pivotal conflict in the history of early America by one of its key participants. Taking Makisabé's account seriously challenges most scholarly narratives on the outbreak of the Fox Wars, shifting the focus from relationships between French and Indigenous peoples at Detroit to relationships among a diverse array of Indigenous people living farther west, outside the sight of French officials.[1]

Ian Tonat earned his PhD from The College of William & Mary in 2022 with a dissertation titled "The People of the Bay: Native Society and Alliance in the Green Bay Region, 1650–1750." *He is an Assistant Editor at the John Dickinson Writings Project.*

[1] "Parolles de Makisabé," Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, Fr. (ANOM), COL, Séries C11 A, vol. 33, fols. 85-90v. A microform copy is available at the Library and

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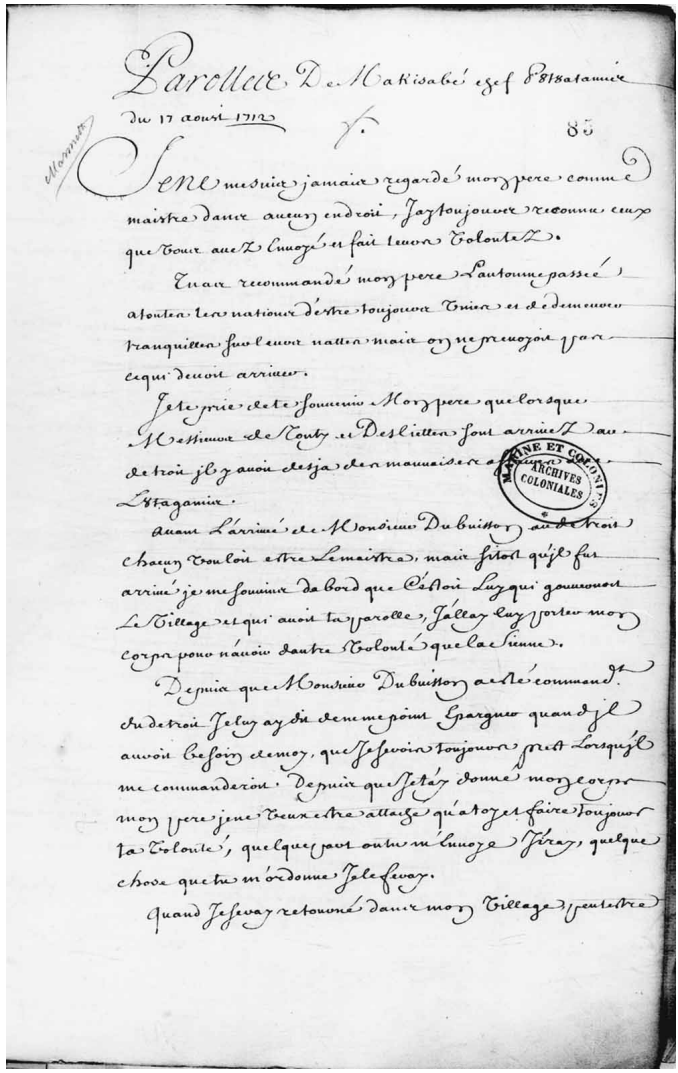

Figure I. "Parolles de Makisabé," 1712. Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), Aix-en-Provence, France. COL, Séries C11 A, vol. 33, fol. 85r.

Archives of Canada (LAC), Ottawa, reel C-2383, F-33 (formerly MG1-C11A), and has been digitized as "Paroles de Makisabi, chef potéouatami" (Item ID 3064570): http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3064570. Another manuscript transcription of the original is available at LAC: "Parolles de Makisabé chef Potouatamis du 17 aoust 1712," France fonds des Colonies, série C11A, Correspondance Générale; Canada, C-2383, vol. 33, 130-42. This transcript was digitized by the Canadiana Héritage project: https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c2383/781.

The first decades of the eighteenth century were a complicated time for leaders in the Great Lakes region like Makisabé and Vaudreuil. In the second half of the seventeenth century, French traders and missionaries began entering the region and the present-day states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The politics and diplomacy of this region were defined by a series of overlapping and intersecting Indigenous alliance networks based on kinship, marriage, and negotiation that bound the region's diverse inhabitants together, though not always harmoniously. Broadly speaking, there were five overarching Indigenous alliance networks. Farthest east, located in present-day upstate New York, were the Haudenosaunee, or the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. From the area surrounding Lake Superior, including northern Michigan, came the Anishinaabe alliance, including the Anishinaabe, Odawa, and Bodéwadmi. West of Lake Michigan, centered on Green Bay in what is currently Wisconsin, were the *gens de la baye* (people of the bay), including the closely related Meskwaki, Kickapoo, and Mascouten, as well as the Menominee and Ho-Chunk. To their south was the Illinois alliance, which included the Illinois as well as related peoples like the Myaamia. And finally, farthest west in what is currently Minnesota, were the Siouan-speaking Dakota.[2]

This overview only scratches the surface of the diversity of people, polities, and interests that defined the region. These broad alliance networks were each composed of a diverse and kaleidoscopic array of villages, kin groups, and nations—each with their own alliances, interests, friendships, and enmities—that subdivided and crossed the boundaries of the larger alliance networks. Social relationships of kinship, marriage, and mutual obligation structured both the day-to-day lives of the Great Lakes' Indigenous people as well as the politics and diplomacy of their alliances.[3]

[2] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Twentieth Anniversary ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 11, 14; Michael J. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 6-13, 121-25; Robert Michael Morrissey, *Empire by Collaboration: Indians, Colonists, and Governments in Colonial Illinois Country* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 14-6, 29; Jacob F. Lee, *Masters of the Middle Waters: Indian Nations and Colonial Ambitions along the Mississippi* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), 37-40; Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 23-5; Raymond J. DeMallie, "Sioux until 1850," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 13, *Plains*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 718-60.

[3] For a full account of the politics of these alliances, see Ian Edward Tonat, "The People of the Bay: Native Society and Alliance in the Green Bay Region, 1650–1750" (Ph.D. diss., William & Mary, 2021).

As the French entered the region, which they called the *pays d'en haut* (upper country), in the late seventeenth century, the alliance networks of the Anishinaabeg, Illinois, and people of the bay were loosely allied in the face of hostility from the Haudenosaunee in the east and the Dakota in the west. The French—seeking to expand their influence across the continent, access new trading partners, and find allies in their own conflict with the Haudenosaunee—formed alliances with the region's Native people and pursued hegemony over them. However, this pursuit conflicted with the reasons Native people made alliances with the French—primarily, advantage against other Native people, including other French allies—and caused serious dissatisfaction among France's allies.

In 1701, the French attempted to resolve these issues with a great council at Montreal that included some 1,300 Native ambassadors from about forty different nations, including the Haudenosaunee. The immediate purpose of the Great Peace of Montreal, as the council became known, was to end the wars between the French, their allies, and the Haudenosaunee, a goal it largely achieved. However, French officials also sought to place themselves at the center of diplomacy and alliance in the region and to impose, as the historian Gilles Havard puts it, a "Pax Gallica" between the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers. In this goal, French officials were much less successful. Even worse for the French was the decision a few years earlier to abandon all posts and rescind all trading licenses west of Detroit. This made Detroit the sole point of contact between New France and its western allies, effectively removing French agents from Native communities and the daily social interactions and personal connections that structured Native alliances.[4]

In the years following the Great Peace of Montreal, Detroit became the hub of diplomacy and trade between France and its western allies, and the post saw both occasional visits from chiefs and migrations of whole Native villages seeking to be closer to the French. By around 1705, Wendat and Odawa peoples had established villages at Detroit, and a significant number of Myaamia had moved to live there among the Wendat. Through intermarriage, kinship, and alliance, these villages brought a constant stream of people from other nations to visit or reside long-term at Detroit, including some Bodéwadmi, Makisabé's people. Over the first decade of the eighteenth century, Antoine Laumet de Lamothe Cadillac, the French commandant at Detroit, invited as many Native people to come live at his post as possible. But, late in the decade, his superior Vaudreuil worried that they were only moving to get closer to the English. He was especially

[4] On the Great Peace of Montreal, see Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), esp., 4-7, 34, 82-88, 111, 119-22, 155-58, 166-76.

concerned about the Meskwaki, whom he had heard were treating with the Haudenosaunee, and in 1711 Vaudreuil encouraged those who had relocated to leave Detroit and return west of Lake Michigan.[5]

However, glimpses in French documents show that tensions were rising in the west, largely out from under the eyes of the French, particularly between the alliances of the Anishinaabeg and the people of the bay. Around 1700, the illegal fur trader Pierre Le Sueur recorded an alliance of Piankeshaw, Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Meskwaki making attacks on the Iowa, and another party of Bodéwadmi, Meskwaki, Sauk, and Ho-Chunk going to attack the Dakota. In 1703, Odawa who came to Montreal from Michilimackinac complained to Vaudreuil that the Sauk and Meskwaki were again at war with the Anishinaabeg and were worried they would be caught up in it. But only three years later, the Odawa convinced members of the same two nations to attack the Myaamia living on the St. Joseph River, which by this time was also home to groups of Bodéwadmi, Sauk, Mascouten, and others. This created an awkward situation when the Meskwaki and Kickapoo, to various degrees allied with all of these people, began to war with the Wea and Illinois, who were also allies of the diverse people living on the St. Joseph River.[6]

These rising tensions and conflicts around the St. Joseph River provide the immediate context for the events Makisabé participated in and relayed, and in the summer of 1712 culminated in open fighting at Detroit between the Meskwaki, Mascouten, and Kickapoo on the one hand and the French, Bodéwadmi, Odawa, Wendat, and many other Indigenous allies on the other. This fighting opened the Fox Wars, which threatened to tear New France's alliance network apart. In the conflict's final stages, the French waged a genocidal campaign

[5] Andrew Sturtevant, "Jealous Neighbors: Rivalry and Alliance among the Native Communities of Detroit, 1701–1766"(Ph.D. diss., William & Mary, 2011), 8, 24, 25, 29, 63; R. David Edmunds and Joseph L. Peyser, *The Fox Wars: The Mesquakie Challenge to New France* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 58; Karen L. Marrero, *Detroit's Hidden Channels: The Power of French-Indigenous Families in the Eighteenth Century* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2020): 6-7; "Memorandum to Serve as Instructions from the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Officers and *Voyageurs* Despatched to Bring Down to Montreal the Savages of the Upper Country," in *Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* [hereafter *MHC*], ed. C. M. Burton, (Lansing: Robert Smith, 1904), 33: 497-502; "Report from M. de Vaudreuil on the Condition of the Colony," in MHC 33: 528-36, esp. 532.

[6] "Le Sueur's Voyage up the Mississippi," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* [hereafter *WHC*], ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison: The Society, 1902), 16: 177-93, esp. 180-81; "Conference of Indian Envoys with Governor de Vaudreuil," *WHC* 16: 221-27, esp. 222; "Detroit Attacked by Ottawas and Miamis; Jesuits Pacify Michillimackinac Savages," *WHC* 16: 232-39, esp. 236. See also Edmunds and Peyser, *Fox Wars,* 55-61; "Words of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Savages Who Came Down from the Upper Country," *MHC* 33: 503-6.

against the Meskwaki, whose population was devastated by violence and slaving, until the intervention of some of their allies brought the conflict to a close.[7]

⁂

The "Parolles de Makisabé" recounts the events that led to the fighting at Detroit in 1712—and thus the launch of the Fox Wars—from the perspective of Makisabé, a Bodéwadmi chief from the St. Joseph River and one of the self-confessed instigators of the violence. His account is the only detailed, contemporary, Indigenous narrative of the Fox Wars' beginnings.[8] The document itself was produced on August 17, 1712, when Makisabé journeyed to Montreal—the usual site of western diplomacy for New France—to explain his role in the fighting that had occurred the previous summer to Governor General Vaudreuil. French officials recorded what Makisabé told Vaudreuil and sent it to France as a supporting document to Vaudreuil's official report to the minister of the navy (who was also responsible for the colonies), where it was entered into the colonial archive.[9]

Makisabé began his narrative in the autumn of 1711, when he and his allies had already decided to attack and "completely destroy" the Meskwaki and their allies the following spring. Makisabé described a number of incidents of violence in the communities near the St. Joseph River, as well as his attempts to negotiate a peace between the Myaamia and Illinois and how he convinced the Illinois to join his coalition. He then described the arrival of Saguima, an Odawa chief, who urged all the allies to immediately attack the Mascouten, the Meskwaki's close allies. After attacking some Mascouten living in their own communities, Makisabé and his allies attacked and destroyed a nearby Mascouten village. To

[7] For histories of the Fox Wars, see Edmunds and Peyser, *Fox Wars*; White, *Middle Ground*, 149-75; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 197-221; and Tonat, "The People of the Bay," esp. chaps. 2-4.

[8] Other Indigenous accounts of the Fox Wars in the form of oral histories were recorded in the years following the conflict, primarily the nineteenth century. These accounts also put the emphasis on conflicts among Native people, particularly the Meskwaki and their neighbors. See, for example, Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*…(Toronto: Hunter, Rose, & Co., 1870), 20-21; William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," in *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (St. Paul: The Society, 1885), 5: 21-394, esp. 148-54; William Jones, *Fox Texts* (Leyden: Brill, 1907), 8-31; Johnathan Lantz Buffalo, "Oral History of the Meskwaki," *Wisconsin Archeologist* 89, no. 1 & 2 (2008): 3-6.

[9] Vaudreuil's report: Philippe de Rigaud Vaudreuil to Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, November 6, 1712, ANOM, COL, Séries C11 A, vol. 33, fols. 50-70v. A partial translation of this report is available in "Reports from the Upper Country," *MHC* 33: 559-67. This translation gives the date of the letter as September 6, but this appears to be a misunderstanding of the abbreviation "9bre."

Makisabé's surprise, the Mascouten survivors fled not to their Native allies but to the French fort at Detroit. Makisabé and his allies followed their tracks, arriving at the fort to find the French besieged by the Mascouten and Meskwaki. Makisabé described the opening of the siege, but his narrative ends abruptly, as he fell ill and died before finishing it.

Though the "Parolles de Makisabé" provides a unique Indigenous perspective on the beginnings of the Fox Wars and insight into events that appear nowhere else, this very uniqueness creates issues with establishing its full context. Perhaps most frustrating is the narrative's incompleteness. Combined with the lack of French sources due to their abandonment of all posts west of Detroit, that Makisabé's account begins after he and his allies have already decided to attack the Meskwaki and their allies means that the events leading up to that decision are shadowy at best. Similarly, Makisabé's illness and death prevented him from completing his narrative of the siege of Detroit, which culminated in the destruction of the Meskwaki and Mascouten villages near Detroit and the death or enslavement of nearly all of those living in them. There are also the issues of language and authorship. The "Parolles" of the title ("words" or "speech") indicate that Makisabé delivered his narrative orally. While it is possible that Makisabé spoke French—as some other Bodéwadmi leaders did—it is much more likely that he addressed Vaudreuil through a translator, raising questions about the accuracy of the transcription and translation of his words.

Makisabé is himself an obscure figure, as he appears in the French record only in relation to the events narrated in this document, making determining his motivations and interests difficult beyond the broadest strokes.[10] Indeed, neither Makisabé nor Vaudreuil ever explicitly mention where the events of Makisabé's narrative occur. Their precise location can only be determined by reading a letter, appended to Vaudreuil's report, from Joseph-Jacques Marest, the Jesuit missionary at Michilimackinac and one of the few Frenchmen remaining west of Detroit. He said that the Bodéwadmi involved in the attack were from the St. Joseph River and the Odawa from the Grand River.[11] Due to his death while relating his narrative and the lack of documentary evidence beforehand, Makisabé's

[10] Makisabé is by far the most common spelling, though his name is also variously spelled Makisabe, Makisabi, Makisabie, and Mâquisabé. To some extent, this variation reflects different spellings in the primary sources, sometimes within the same document. However, "Makisabi" seems to be a transcription error caused by ambiguity between *é* and *i*, which is especially prominent in the title of the "Parolles," though subsequent uses are all clearly "Makisabé." "Makisabie" appears to be an attempt by Thwaites in *WHC* to create a standardized version.

[11] Joseph-Jacques Marest to Philippe de Rigaud Vaudreuil, June 21, 1712, ANOM, COL, Séries C11 A, vol. 33, fols. 71-76v. A full translation is available, "Indians on the St. Joseph River," *MHC* 33: 553-57; as well as a partial one in E.M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan, from the First Settlement to 1815* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1874), 299-305.

presentation of himself and his own actions, alongside brief French descriptions, are the only means we have to contextualize and assess his narrative beyond generalities. The available information suggests that Makisabé was a prominent leader among the Bodéwadmi, deeply involved in diplomacy and war, and likely from an influential family. Dubuisson describes him as a "war chief" and notes that his brother Tekamasimon accompanied him. Throughout his account, Makisabé presents himself as a widely respected leader, having another Bodéwadmi describe him as "chief of the nation" and the Illinois address him in relation to his "father, who was highly respected." Makisabé also portrays himself as a loyal ally of the French, often in contrast to his ally Saguima, whom he accuses of trading with the English and even of threatening to attack the French if they were to give shelter to the Mascouten. Such a flattering (and useful) self-portrayal naturally raises questions, but there is little else in the documentary record to compare it with.[12]

Nonetheless, what the "Parolles de Makisabé" tells us about the beginnings of the Fox Wars is critical and raises serious questions about most scholarly portrayals by instead emphasizing relations between Native peoples and making the French peripheral. Makisabé's narrative is reasonably well known among scholars, with two widely cited works on the Fox Wars—Richard White's *The Middle Ground* and R. David Edmunds and Joseph L. Peyer's *The Fox Wars*—drawing substantially from it. However, these decades-old works primarily see the Fox Wars through the lens of conflict between the French and the Meskwaki, putting undue weight on the French as protagonists. Even White, who explicitly argues that the Fox Wars were "intertribal wars that eventually became an imperial war by default," sees the wars primarily through a French lens, as a failure of the French to maintain their alliance and fulfill their role as mediators.[13] Surprisingly, given increasing interest in Native agency and diplomacy among Native people, more recent works on the Fox Wars rarely give serious consideration to the "Parolles de Makisabé" and continue to see the conflict's beginnings in the geographic and diplomatic context of Detroit. These works tend to draw heavily on the report of Jacques-Charles Renaud Dubuisson, acting commandant of Detroit at the time of the siege, who had little sense of the wider Indigenous context for

[12] "Siege of Detroit by Wisconsin Indians," *WHC* 16: 267-88, esp. 271. Note that Thwaites renders Makisabé's brother's name as "Tehamasimon," but the original document clearly features a *k*. See Jacques-Charles Renaud Dubuisson to Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, July 15, 1712, ANOM, COL, Séries C11 A, vol. 33, fols. 160-178^{v}, esp. 164. See also "Parolles de Makisabé,"fols. 86-87. Makisabé's self-portrayal as an influential and loyal French ally is especially relevant because Bodéwadmi leaders often presented themselves as intermediaries between the French and their allies living west of Lake Michigan.

[13] White, *Middle Ground*, 153-59, quotation 154 n. 19. Edmunds and Peyser, *Fox Wars*, 65-68.

the fighting at Detroit and, as a result, seemed baffled at the hostility of his Native allies.[14]

But Makisabé's narrative of the Fox Wars' beginnings raises a number of issues with the idea that Detroit was the flashpoint. The first is the planning of the Meskwaki's Native enemies. According to Makisabé, many of his allies, including the Myaamia and Bodéwadmi elders, made clear in the winter of 1711–12 that they were already planning to attack the Meskwaki and their allies in the spring. The origin of the enmity between the Bodéwadmi and their allies on the one hand and the Meskwaki, Kickapoo, and Mascouten on the other isn't clear, though Makisabé relates that violence was already ongoing, as he claimed he helped prevent a Kickapoo attack on the Myaamia that winter. Many scholars have been content to label the different peoples as traditional enemies and argue that they were ultimately fighting over access to the French, but the events of the preceding decades and Makisabé's account raise questions about these interpretations. First, some of the Meskwaki's closest relatives and allies were Bodéwadmi. Second, as Makisabé's testimony makes clear, the war did not begin with attacks on the Meskwaki who had moved to Detroit but on Kickapoo and Mascouten living near St. Joseph River—both points underlined by the fact that some of the first victims were Mascouten living in Makisabé's village. Instead, the most likely initial cause of the violence seems to have been a confluence of relatively recent diplomatic developments in the Indigenous alliance networks west of Detroit that were largely invisible to the French because they had been mostly absent from the region for a decade. Particularly salient seems to have been the increasingly close relationship between the Bodéwadmi and the Illinois—as evidenced by Makisabé's decision to take half his village to winter with the Illinois—combined with a war between the Illinois on one side and the Meskwaki, Kickapoo, and Mascouten on the other. There may also have been personal reasons, as Makisabé (and others) noted that the Mascouten had been openly insulting Saguima for the better part of a year. These all shift the focus from Detroit to the St. Joseph River.[15]

[14] For instance, Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance* and Marrero, *Detroit's Hidden Channels* do not cite "Parolles de Makisabé." Michael A. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2015), 83-85, 348 n. 56 does, but like Rushforth he primarily sees the conflict as a result of France's Anishinaabe allies working to shape the French alliance network to their benefit by removing the Meskwaki. Given his focus on the Odawa, McDonnell emphasizes the role of Saguima (spelled "Sakima") and does not mention Makisabé in the text. For a translation of Dubuisson's narrative, see "Siege of Detroit."

[15] "Memorandum to Serve as Instructions," 501; "Words of the Marquis de Vaudreuil," 504-6. For the traditional enemy narrative, see Edmunds and Peyser, *Fox Wars,* 86; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance,* 196, 199. Witgen, *Infinity of Nations,* 418 n. 78 rightly pushes back against this framing.

If the background and planning of the attacks described by Makisabé move the location of the Fox Wars' beginnings further west, his narrative also shows how little the French influenced the events leading up to the siege of Detroit and the Fox Wars. Makisabé's narrative stresses coalition building among Native people, which allowed him and Saguima to assemble a large and diverse alliance. While it is apparent that the Odawa, Bodéwadmi, Myaamia, and Wendat at least had determined to go to war before the autumn of 1711, when Makisabé's narrative gives us a clearer view of the political situation, his narrative shows how he was able to convince the Illinois to join his alliance by presenting them with a common enemy, removing the threat of Myaamia attacks by brokering a peace, and leveraging an unsanctioned attack on the Bodéwadmi by Illinois warriors into a pledge to follow Makisabé. Unfortunately, Makisabé's narrative only gives us a glimpse into the complicated diplomatic wrangling that went into this attack.[16]

Even more telling is this conflict's relative invisibility to the French. French sources make little to no mention of hostility between the Mascouten, Meskwaki, Kickapoo, and others before Makisabé and Saguima attacked. Indeed, even when six hundred warriors arrived on his doorstep, Dubuisson found it "surprising how much all these nations are irritated against the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies [Meskwaki]." Far from a conspiracy to involve the French, if we are to believe Makisabé, his allies did not want to involve the French at all. He said it was the Mascouten who sought the French out after they had been attacked, and even at that point, Makisabé stated that he and his allies had expected the Mascouten to flee to their Kickapoo allies. Indeed, Makisabé claimed Saguima, one of the principal instigators, was willing to attack the French if they sided with the enemy.[17]

Further, though it is clear from statements of the Myaamia warriors and Bodéwadmi elders that the plan was to attack the Meskwaki, Makisabé emphasized conflict with the Mascouten. Even once his party reached Detroit, where the Meskwaki were present, Makisabé suspected that it was the Mascouten who had initiated hostilities with the French. He said it was the Mascouten who prevented him from reaching the French fort and that he resolved to fight because he did not want to "leave our father in the hands of the Mascouten."[18] While most scholarly accounts, drawing on Dubuisson's narrative, emphasize the rising tensions between the Meskwaki and French at Detroit in the escalation of hostilities that

[16] "Parolles de Makisabé," fols. 85ᵛ-87ᵛ.

[17] "Siege of Detroit," 272; "Parolles de Makisabé," fols. 88ᵛ-89. On the narrative of a Native conspiracy to create a war between the Meskwaki and French, see White, *Middle Ground*, 155-59; McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 84-85.

[18] "Parolles de Makisabé," fol. 90.

led to the Fox Wars, a close examination, combined with the context provided by Makisabé, shows that the arrival of the Mascouten refugees was the turning point. Tensions between the French and Meskwaki had been rising for some time, and some Meskwaki had even tried to kill two French people inside the fort. But when the Mascouten refugees informed their Meskwaki allies of Makisabé and Saguima's attack, the Meskwaki burnt an Odawa cabin at the fort's entrance. Dubuisson perceived this Meskwaki act of retribution against the Odawa as an attack on the French, which led him to secure himself, the French population, and whatever supplies they could gather in the half of the fort he thought he could defend. Dubuisson prepared for war, sending word to his local allies, but tried to prevent (or at least delay) further violence by pretending to the Meskwaki and Mascouten that he feared an attack from the Myaamia. But as yet there had been no further violence, and Dubuisson even continued to allow the Meskwaki and Mascouten to enter his fort to trade until Makisabé and his allies arrived, demanding to press the attack.[19]

Makisabé's account thus places the French and the incidents at Detroit as secondary in the events that led to the Fox Wars. Marest, the Jesuit at Michilimackinac, agreed, writing that the "first attack" on the St. Joseph River "was as it were the seed" for the fighting at Detroit and the events that came after.[20] The only detailed, contemporary, Indigenous narrative of the Fox Wars' beginnings—created by a person who openly claimed to have planned and instigated the attacks that began the war—therefore reveals a very different picture than that of most scholars. According to Makisabé, the war began not at Detroit but on the St. Joseph River. The primary antagonists were not the French and the Meskwaki but an alliance of Bodéwadmi, Odawa, Illinois, Myaamia, and Wendat people on one side, and Mascouten, Kickapoo, and Meskwaki—with most emphasis put on the Mascouten—on the other. The reason behind the conflict was

[19] "Siege of Detroit," 268-70. The siege of Detroit has been recounted in many places, see "Another account of the Siege of Detroit," *WHC* 16: 293-95; White, *Middle Ground,* 156-59; Edmunds and Peyser, *Fox Wars,* 64-76. Most recently, Marrero has emphasized the initial Meskwaki attack against two people in the French fort—La Jeunesse and a daughter or girl belonging to Pierre Roy, who had married Marguerite Ouabankikoué, a prominent Miami woman—as the inciting incident for the Fox Wars, after Dubuisson, new to the post and unsure of local dynamics, reacted with force. While Marrero is right to emphasize the complicated kin dynamics in play at Detroit, her interpretation places too much emphasis on Detroit and the French. She ignores the context of the previous events on the St. Joseph River and the lack of continued violence following the attack until the arrival of Makisabé and Saguima, who, unaware of events at Detroit, were already intent on attacking the Meskwaki and Mascouten in the face of resistance from Dubuisson, who only became seriously concerned after the arrival of the Mascouten and the Meskwaki burning of the Odawa cabin near the gates of the fort. See Marrero, *Detroit's Hidden Channels,* chap. 3.

[20] "Indians on the St. Joseph River," *MHC* 33: 553-57, esp. 554.

not French expansion or favoritism within its alliance networks but seems to have been the shifting of Native alliances surrounding the wars and movements of Native people living west of Detroit. To the extent that the French were involved, it was because they were a part of multiple Indigenous alliance networks that sought to call upon their relationships to the French in conflicting ways. According to Makisabé, the onset of the Fox Wars in 1712 was firmly rooted in the context of the Indigenous alliances and was driven at every stage, on both sides, by the actions and priorities of Native people.

Parolles De Makisabé chef P8t8atamis[1]

du 17 aout 1712

Je ne me suis jamais regardé mon pere comme maistre dans aucun endroit, J[']ay toujours reconnu ceux que vous avez Envoyé et fait leurs volontez.

Tu as recommandé mon pere l'automne passeé a toutes les nations d'estre toujours unies et de demeurer tranquilles sur leurs nattes mais on ne prevoyoit pas ce qui devoit arriver.

Je te prie d[']ete souvenir Mon pere que lorsque messieurs de Tonty et Desliettes sont arrivez au detroit il y avoit desja des mauvaises affaires avec L8tagamis.

Avant l'arriveé de Monsieur Debuisson au detroit chacun vouloit estre le maistre, mais sitost qu'il fut arrivé je me souviens dabord que C'estoit luy qui gouvernoit Le Village et qui avoit ta parolle, J'allay luy porter mon corps pour n'avoir d[']autre volonté que la tienne.

Depuis que Monsieur Dubuisson a esté command[t] du detroit Je luy ay dit de ne me point Epargnes quand il auroit besoin de moy, que Je serois toujours prest lorsqu'il me commanderoit. Depuis que je t'ay donné mon corps mon pere je ne veux estre attache qu'a toy et faire toujours ta volonté, quelque part on tu m'Envoye J'iray, quelque chose que tu m'ordonne Je le feray.

Quand Je seray retourné dans mon village peutestre [end 85[r]] que nos femmes et Ceux que J'ay laissé me diront que L8tagamis Les a tuez et qu'il s'est vengé, pour lors nous verrons ce qu'il y aura a faire.

Lautomne passeé mon pere Javois levé La moitie du Village pour aller hiverner avec l'ilinois, mais Je revins sur des cris de mort que J'entendis a quelques journées de notre village, ou nous aprismes que c'estoit L8tagamis qui nous avoit tué.

[1] *8* is a ligature of *ou*, used frequently in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French renderings of Algonquian words.

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Lorsque nous fusmes de rétour a notre village nous nous aperçusmes qu'il nous manquois un homme sans sçavoir ou il pouroit estre, Je le trouvay chez les Miamis, Je resolu Ensuite de faire La paix entre les Ilinois et Eux puisque C'estoit ta volonté, comme J'estois chez les miamis nous Entendismes des jeunes gens qui venoient fraper sur leurs Cabannes, ils me prierent de me joindre a Eux pour aller avec leurs guerriers au devant de Ceux qui venoient pour fraper et qui se trouverent estre les Kikapous dont nous tuasmes deux hommes et fismes un prisonnier.

Ce coup estant fait je fus fort embarrassé comment me tirer de cette affaire, Je la mis sur le corps des Miamis ausquels je dis de faire comme ils pouroient, que pour moy Je m'en retournois a mon village et que Je leur laissois Les deux [end 85r] chevelures et le prisonnier, que meme Je m'offrois de reparer les morts, ils me dirent qu'ils m'estoient obligez, que les Kikapous avoient tort puisqu'ils venoient pour les fraper, que d[']ailleurs comme C'estoit la meme nation que L8tagamis il n'y avoit pas grand mal puisque le printems ils croyoient qu'on mangeroit L8tagamis.

Estant de retour a mon village Les anciens m'aprouverent d'avoir frapé sur le Kikapou parceque c'estoit le meme que l8tagamis sur lequel ils vouloient fraper le printems, Je fis avertir ceux qui estoient en chasse de revenir, n'estant pas en sureté a cause du Coup fait sur le Kikapou, a leur arrivée ils dirent que l'ilinois leur avoit tué un homme et Emmenné une femme, et que contre l'ordinaire de la guerre ils avoient planté leur Casseteste dans le Corps du mort.

Quoy que les vieillards fussent d'avis apres ce coup de fraper sur l'ilinois, Je dis au pere que je ne le voulois point Souffrir, pour cet effet j'allay trouver le pere du mort qui me dit que C'estoit a moy a le venger, puisque J[']estois chef de la nation, je luy dis que je me souviendrons de ce qu'il me disoit, et par un collier que je luy presenté je luy dis que Je Couvrois le mort Jusques a l[']esté prochain et que je plantois le Casseteste. Ensuite J'allay aux [end 86r] Ilinois pour sçavois comment cette affaire C'estoit passee. Je rencontré les vieillards Ilinois en chemin

qui pleuroient du Coup qu'on avoit fait sur nous, et qui me rendirent La femme qu'on avoit prise, ils me dirent qu'ils me prierent de leur pardonner, que le Coup avoit este fair par un fou sans le Consentement des vieillards. Je leur fis reponse que je voulois parler au pere pour qui J'avois des lettres et que d[']ailleurs Je voulois que tous les autres chefs des nations Ilinois en me confirmassent ce qu'ils me disoient, J'allay a leur village ou apres avoir longtems parlé sans reçevoir aucune reponse Je leur dis que Je ne les Craignois point que je ne craignois que le françois mon pere a qui J'avois porté mon corps l'automne dernier.

Ayant ainsy parlé le neveu du plus consideré me dit qu'il Ecoutoit ma parolle, qu'il me prioit de ne pas croire qu'on Eust voulu me fraper, que je disois que Je suivois La parolle du Gouverneur mon pere, qu'il estoit aussi le sien et que pour reparer le tort qu'on nous avoit fait il me donnoit son corps et vouloit faire feu avec moy et suivre La parolle du Gouverneur mon pere et Le sien:

L'illinois apres m'avoir ainsy parlé me dit [end 86^{v}] nous te regardons comme ton pere qui estoit fort consideré, Nous sommes ravis de te voir, Nous te donnons cinq calumets de paix, trois Esclaves pour abrier le mort, dix barres de Plomb pour qu'on n'entende plus parler de luy, deux pendants d'oreille et plusieurs peaux afin que la paix soit stable entre nous et que nous ne soyons plus qu'un meme Corps.

Estant de retour a mon village, J'entray dans ma Cabanne ou je ne fis que passer et dis aux Ilinois, mes freres allons a celle du mort ou nous l'enterrerons et boirons et mangerons.

Ceux de notre village avaient peine a croire ces choses Jusques a ce qu'ils Eussent vue les presents et Entendu le neveu de ce Consideré dont Je viens de parler.

Comme nous estions mon pere a faire de bonnes affaires avec l'ilinois, Saguima arriva avec un collier rouge de vermillion, et me dit que comme nous avions intention de detruire L8tagamis qu'il faloit autant commencer par le Mask8tin qui luy estoit allié, et boire du bouillon d'un qui estoit chez nous avec

plusieurs autres, Nous en tuasmes un avec une femme et gardasmes le reste, Ensuite les [end 87r] Ilinois prirent leurs chevelures et du bouillon pour Inviter leur nation a venir se joindre a nous pour detruire Entierement L8tagamis et Le mask8.[2]

Apres le depart des Ilinois J'allay avec cinqua[nte] hommes pour Joindre Saguima que Je croyois allé frap[er] sur le mask8tin, Je le trouvay paisible sur sa natte qui me dit qu'il mattendoit pour fraper tous Ensemble. Je luy dis que s'il m'en vouloit croire nous ne fraperions point, et que Je me faisois fort de satisfaire a la mort de Ceux qui avoient esté tuez aupres de moy, mais sans Ecouter mes raisons, il me dit qu'il falloit absolument fraper sur le Mask8tin, il me fit des presents par un collier de plusieurs fusils poudre et Balles pour m'engager a cette guerre, J'acceptay son present, Je luy dis qu'il ne descendoit point icy pour te voir que tu serois peutestre outré que pour moy J'y avois descendu l[']anneé passée et que J[']esperois y descendre Cette anneé pour t'informer de tout ce qui se seroit passé ne te voulant rien cacher.

Nous partismes le lendemain de ce discours pour aller fraper sur le Mask8tin qui estoit en chasse aussy proche du village [end 87v] de Saguima que d'icy a Lachine, nous estions Environ Cent hommes et Eux deux Cent, nous fismes plusieurs poses pour arriver a leur village en attendant le jour, quand nous y arrivasmes ils se preparoient pour aller en guerre contre L8ta8as et en chantoient desja la chasson. Souvent quand une nation doit perir elle contribüe a son malheur il y avoit Longtems qu'ils menacoient Saguima et qu'ils Le traittoient de Lache, ce qui L'a irité et porté a faire coup sur eux. Le Combat fut sanglant, Saguima perdit neuf hommes et moy quatre qui furent tuez et nous en Eusmes quarante sept de Blessez, Les mask8tins Eurent soixante guerriers de tuez sans compter Les vieillards Les femmes et les enfants.

Apres trois jours de Combat nous nous parlasmes et Le mask8tin demanda qui Estce qui Le tuoit, nous repondismes que C'estoit Les P8t8atamis, L8ta8as

[2] "mask8tin" has been abbreviated to "mask8" to fit at the end of a line.

et toutes Les nations des Lacs, ils nous demanderent a faire treve en attendant que nous seussions La volonté du Commandant du detroit qui tient ta place mon pere, nous leur [end 88r] accordasmes et nous leur dismes qu'ils pouvoient se retirer et que nous nous retirerions aussy et que si Le Commandant du detroit qu'ils avoient Insulté nous ordonnoit de fraper, nous fraperions sinon que nous demeurions tranquils, nous brulasmes Les Cabanes emportasmes le butin et tuasmes les prisonniers.

Au retour de Cette action J'arrivay a mon Village Incertain si j'irois au detroit ou a Michillimakina. Je trouvay qu'il falloit mieux aller a Ce dernier a cause de la Commodité des Canots.

L'ilinois sestant joint a nous nous fit present de Cent Calumets rouges, de plusmes de Calumets et d'un esclave et nous dit qu'il se joignoit a nous qu'il Venoit pleurer les morts et mon frere et qu'il nous faisoit le present pour continuer cette guerre ensemble.

Saguima receut Ce present, ensuite nous nous donnamses rendez Vous a Un fort ou estant Saguima nous fit present de poudre et de Balles pour desfaire entierement Le mask8tin et nous promit mon pere que tu n'en serois pas fache, L'ilinois accepta Le present de Saguima comme Saguima avoit accepté Le Sien.

Nous suivismes les pistes du mask8tin [end 88v] que nous Crusmes aller Vers le Kikap8s, mais nous nous apercusmes qu'il alloit du Costé du detroit, surquoy nous tinsmes Conseil pour sçavoir quel chemin ils pouvoient prendre et s'ils nalloient point du Costé du françois, Saguima dit qu'il vouloit detruire Le mask8tin et toutes Les nations qui prendroient son party, qu'il fraperoit meme le françois s'il le prenoit, Je luy fis reponse que Ce n'estoit pas mon sentiment qu'il falloit mieux aller au detroit aupres de notre pere, et qu'ensuite nous fraperions Le Mask8tin et les nations qui prendroient son party, mais que pour le françois Je ne le fraperois Jamais, et qu'il falloit avoir perdu l'esprit pour Cela, puisque nous nous priverions par la de toutes nos necessitez que Je n'estois pas comme luy qui alloit chez L'anglois. Je parlay la dessus aux chefs et anciens de notre

nation pour sçavoir quels estoient Leurs sentiments, ils me repondirent qu'ils n'en avoient point d[']autres que les miens, dont Je les remercié et leur dis que J'allois partir pour aller trouver notre pere Monsieur Dubuisson au Detroit, et luy demander son avis [end 89r] La dessus que J'estois resolu de Suivre.

Je parlay a toutes les nations pour leur dire Les Sujet de ma marche, L'ilinois s'estant donné a nous ne fit aucune difficulté de promettre de Suivre ce que Je pouvois faire pour Saguima Je luy dis qu'il pouvoit faire ce qu'il voudroit, mais qu'il prit bien garde a ce qu'il seroit, que pour moy Jallois voir Monsieur Dubuisson notre pere.

Je leur dis qu'il estoit bon que J'arrivasse devant pour avertir Monsieur Dubuisson que nous venions en grand nombre afin qu'il ne fust point surpris de nous voir et qu'il n'eust aucun soupcon de nous.

Je fus Surpris mon pere en approchant du village de voir le retranchement de M. Dubuisson et une autre maison et un fort aupres; Je me douttay que Monsieur Dubuisson s'estoit battu avec le Mask8tin. Je vis bien en m'approchant de plus prest qu'il estoit sur le point d'estre attaqué et qu'il avoit besoin de Secour, sur quoy J'allay en diligence au fort des hurons qui m'ouvrirent une de leurs portes m'ayant reconnu. Je fus aperçu par un mask8tin qui fust dire au village des Regnards que j'estois arrivé.

Je parlay aux hurons et leur dis Le Sujet de [end 89v] mon voyage, que Je venois pour Continuer La guerre contre le mask8ten que nous poursuivions et que nous avions dessein de detruire. Je leur presenté mon Calumet dans lequel ils fumerent et me dirent que mon arriveé Leur faisoit plaisir et que notre pere en auroit de nous voir parceq'l. estoit attaqué par L8tagamis.

Pendant que J'estois dans le fort des hurons Les Regnards firent dire a Monsieur Dubuisson qu'ils scavoient que Makisabé estoit dans le fort des hurons et qu'ils vouloient Le manger, et que si par hazard il s'y opposoit ils bruleroient ses Cabannes et luy en seroient autant.

Monsieur Dubuisson me fit dire par ~~des [?]~~ Monsieur De Vincennes de ne me point chagriner, et de ne me point exposer a venir a Son fort crainte qu'il ne m'arrivant mal parceque les avenües en estoient gardeés par les Mask8tins, La dessus Je resolu de perir plutost que de Laisser notre pere entre les mains du Mask8tin. J'envoyay deux hurons pour avertir nos gens de venir et Je pris ma resolution de detruire entierem[t]. L8tagamis et le Mask8tin puisquils vouloient me manger et qu'ils chagrinoient notre pere Monsieur Dubuisson a qui Je fis dire qu'il falloit qu'il [end 90[r]] nous donnast de la poudre des balles et des vivres pour pouvoir nous battre.

Quand L8tagamis sceut que nous venions au nombre d'environ six cent, il s'empara de la moitié du fort des françois, nous ne voulusmes pas fraper dabord voulant tacher d'avoir par douceur la femme de Saguima qu'ils avoient prise avec quelques autres.

Makisabé estant tombé malade ne peut achever tout ce qu'il avoit a dire, et deux jours apres il mourut.[3]

[3] The right margin, in the same hand, reads:
"Vaudreuil du 6' Novemb[r] 1712
Parolles des Makisabé
chef P8t8atamis du 17 aoust
Poutouatamis"

Words of Makisabé, Bodéwadmi Chief

17 August 1712

I have never considered myself, my father,[4] as master in any place, I always recognized those whom you sent and did their will.

You recommended, my father, last autumn to all the nations to always be united and to remain calm on their mats, but it was not foreseen what was to happen.

I beg you to remember, my father, that when Messieurs de Tonty and Desliettes[5] arrived in Detroit there were already troubles with the Outagamis.[6]

Before the arrival of Monsieur Dubuisson[7] in Detroit everyone wanted to be the master, but from the moment he arrived I have remembered that it was he who governed the village and who had your word, I went to take my body to him to have no other will than yours.

Since Monsieur Dubuisson has been commandant of Detroit, I have told him not to spare me when he needed me, that I would always be ready when he commanded me. Since I gave you my body, my father, I only want to be attached to you and always do your will, wherever you send me I will go, whatever you order I will do.

When I have returned to my village, perhaps [end 85r] our women and those I left behind will tell me that the Outagamis killed them and that he has taken revenge, at that time we will see what needs to be done.

[4] France's Native allies conventionally referred to the governor (and other French officials) as father. For a discussion of the use of this term, see White, *Middle Ground*, 84-85 and McDonnel, *Masters of Empire*, 93-94. At this time, the governor general of New France was Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, see Yves F. Zoltvany, "Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2 (1969, rev. 2013).

[5] Alphonse de Tonty was second in command at Detroit under Antoine Laumet de La Mothe Cadillac from 1701 to 1705 and frequently acted as commandant in his absence. Pierre-Charles Desliettes (de Liette, Deliette) was Tonty's cousin and a prominent French official in the Illinois country during the first decade of the eighteenth century. See C. J. Russ, "Tonty, Alphonse, Baron de Paludy," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2 (1969, rev. 1982); and C. J. Russ, "Liette, Pierre-Charles de," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2 (1969, rev. 1982).

[6] "Outagamis" is an Anishinaabemowin term meaning "people over the water." It refers to the people who called themselves the Meskwaki ("red earth people," also spelled Mesquakie or Meshkwahkihaki). The French and other Europeans also frequently referred to them as Renards, or Foxes. Charles Callender, "Fox," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 636-47.

[7] Jacques-Charles Renaud Dubuisson, acting commandant of Detroit. See Donald Chaput, "Renaud Dubuisson, Jacques-Charles," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol 2. (1969, rev. 1982).

Last autumn, my father, I had raised half of the village to go winter with the Illinois, but I came back to the cries of death that I heard a few days from our village, where we learned that it was the Outagamis who had killed us.

When we returned to our village we realized that we were missing a man, without knowing where he could be, I found him among the Myaamia. I then resolved to make peace between the Illinois and them since it was your will, as I was among the Myaamia we heard young people who were coming to strike their cabins, they asked me to join them to go with their warriors to meet those who came to attack and who turned out to be the Kickapoo, of whom we killed two men and took one prisoner.

This blow being done I was very embarrassed about how to get out of this affair, I put it on the body of the Myaamia, whom I told to do what they would, that for me I was returning to my village, and that I was leaving them the two [end 85v] scalps and the prisoner, that I even offered myself to redress the dead, they told me that the Kickapoo were wrong because they came to attack, that besides, since they were the same nation as the Outagamis, there was no great harm because in the spring they believed that we would eat[8] the Outagamis.

Being back in my village, the elders approved of me having struck the Kickapoo because they were the same as the Outagamis, whom they wanted to attack in the spring, I warned those who were out hunting to come back, it not being safe because of the blow done to the Kickapoo. On their arrival they said that the Illinois had killed a man and taken away a woman, and that contrary to the normal way of war they had stuck their tomahawk[9] in the dead body.

Although after this blow the elders thought we should strike the Illinois, I told the father that I did not want him to suffer, for this purpose I went to find the father of the deceased who told me that it was upon me to avenge him since I was chief of the nation. I told him that I would remember what he said to me, and by a belt [of wampum] that I presented to him I told him that I covered the dead until the next summer and that I [planted?] the tomahawk.[10] Then I went to [end 86r] the Illinois to find how this affair came to pass. On the way I met the

[8] Native people of the Great Lakes often used eating as a metaphor for warfare, especially captive taking. See Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 38-39.

[9] Literally "head breaker," *Casseteste* can be translated as "tomahawk" or "war club."

[10] Covering the dead refers to the practice of giving gifts to relatives of the deceased to compensate for their death. See White, *Middle Ground*, 76-77. The exact meaning of *Je plantois le Casseteste* is unclear here. Literally "I planted the tomahawk," it could mean "I buried the tomahawk," signifying that Makisabé had made amends and would not respond violently. This also fits the context, where Makisabé is covering the dead and forgoing revenge against the Illinois. However, *planter* suggests that some portion remains above ground, and *enterrer* (to bury) is more common in "to bury the tomahawk." The previous use in *ils avoient planté leur Casseteste dans le Corps du mort* (they had stuck their tomahawk in the dead body) described an act of mutilation that also suggests a violent action.

Illinois elders, who wept at the blow that had been done to us, and who gave me back the woman they had taken. They asked me to forgive them, that the blow had been made by a madman without the consent of the elders. I answered them that I wanted to speak to the father, for whom I had letters,[11] and that moreover I wanted all the other chiefs of the Illinois nations to confirm to me what they were telling me. I went to their village, where after having talked for a long time without receiving any answer, I told them that I did not fear them, that I feared only the Frenchman, my father, to whom I had carried my body last autumn.

Having thus spoken, the nephew of the most respected one[12] told me that he listened to my words, that he begged me not to believe that anyone had wanted to strike me, that I said that I followed the word of the governor, my father, that he was also his [father], and that to repair the wrong that had been done to us he gave me his body and wanted to make fire with me and follow the word of the governor, my father and his own.

The Illinois, after having spoken to me thus, told me [end 86v] "We look on you as your father, who was highly respected. We are delighted to see you. We give you five calumets of peace, three slaves to cover the dead, ten bars of lead so that no more talk of him is heard, two earrings and several pelts so that peace is stable between us and that we will be one and the same body."

Being back in my village, I entered my cabin, where I only passed through, and said to the Illinois, "My brothers, let's go to the cabin of the dead man, where we will bury him and drink and eat."

Those of our village could hardly believe these things until they had seen the presents and heard the nephew of the esteemed person of whom I have just spoken.

As we were, my father, doing good things with the Illinois, Saguima arrived with a belt [of wampum] red with vermillion, and told me that as we intended to destroy the Outagamis that we might as well start with the Mascouten to whom he was allied, and drink the broth of one who was with us with several others, we killed one with a woman and kept the rest, Then the [end 87r] Illinois took their scalps and broth to invite their nation to come join us to completely destroy the Outagamis and the Mascouten.

After the departure of the Illinois, I went with fifty men to join Saguima, who I thought had gone to strike the Mascouten. I found him peaceful on his

[11] In this case, "father" seems to refer to the missionary among the Illinois. French officials and missionaries often entrusted Native people with their letters.

[12] The "most respected one" is likely the Illinois chief Chachagouesse, who accompanied Makisabé to Detroit and then to Montreal, where he also gave a speech to Vaudreuil. See "Parolles de Chachagouesse, chef Illinois," August 20, 1712, ANOM, C11A, vol. 33, fols. 91-94v; Donald J. Horton, "Chachagouesse," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2 (1969, rev. 1982).

mat. He told me that he was waiting for me to strike all together. I told him that if he wanted to trust me, we would not strike at all, and that I was determined to satisfy the death of those who had been killed near me, but without listening to my reasons, he told me that it was absolutely necessary to strike the Mascouten, he made me presents of a belt [of wampum], several muskets, powder, and bullets to engage me in this war. I accepted his present. I told him that if he was not coming down here to see you that you might be outraged; that for me I had gone down there last year and that I was hoping to go down there this year to inform you of everything that had happened, not wanting to hide anything from you.

We left the day after this discourse to strike the Mascouten who were hunting as close to the village of [end 87v] Saguima as from here to Lachine.[13] We were about a hundred men and they two hundred. We made several stops to arrive at their village, waiting for the day. When we arrived there they were preparing to go to war against the Odawa and were already singing the war song. Often when a nation is to perish it contributes to its misfortune, they had been threatening Saguima for a long time and called him a coward, which angered him and inclined him to attack them. The fight was bloody, Saguima lost nine men and I four who were killed, and we had forty-seven wounded. The Mascoutens had sixty warriors killed, not counting the old men, women, and children.

After three days of fighting we spoke to each other and the Mascouten asked who was killing him. We responded that it was the Bodéwadmi, the Odawa, and all the nations of the Lakes.[14] They asked us to make a truce while awaiting the will of the commandant of Detroit, who holds your place, my father. We agreed [end 88r] and told them that they could withdraw and that we would also withdraw, and that if the commandant of Detroit, whom they had insulted, ordered us to strike we would strike, otherwise we would remain peaceful. We burned the cabins, took the loot, and killed the prisoners.

On returning from this action I arrived in my village uncertain whether I would go to Detroit or Michilimackinac. I found that it was better to go to the latter because of the convenience of the canoes.

The Illinois, having joined with us, gave us a present of one hundred red calumets, calumet feathers, and a slave and told us that he was joining us, that he was coming to mourn the dead and my brother, and that he gave us the present in order to continue this war together.

[13] Currently a borough of Montreal, eighteenth-century Lachine was a separate settlement approximately seven miles from old Montreal.

[14] When the entire party arrived at Detroit, Dubuisson identified Odawa, Bodéwadmi, Illinois, Sauk, Menominee, Missouri, Osage, and "other nations yet more remote," see "Siege of Detroit," 272.

Saguima received this present, then we rendezvoused at a fort, where Saguima made us a present of powder and bullets to completely defeat the Mascouten and promised us, my father, that you would not be angry. The Illinois accepted Saguima's present as Saguima had accepted his.

We followed the tracks of the Mascouten, [end 88v] which we believed to go towards the Kickapoo, but we realized that it was going towards Detroit, whereupon we took council to know which path they could take and if they were not going towards the French. Saguima said he wanted to destroy the Mascouten and all the nations that would take his side, that he would even strike the Frenchman if he took his side. I responded to him that it was not my feeling, that it was better to go to Detroit nearby our father, and that then we would strike the Mascouten and the nations which would take his party, but that as for the Frenchman, I would never strike him, and that we would have to have lost our minds to do that, since we would thereby deprive ourselves of all our necessities, that I was not like him who went to the English [to trade]. I spoke about it to the chiefs and elders of our nation to find out what their feelings were, they told me that they had none other than mine, for which I thanked them and told them that I was going to go to find our father, Monsieur Dubuisson, at Detroit, and ask his opinion [end 89r] on it, which I was resolved to follow.

I spoke to all the nations to tell them about my journey, the Illinois having given himself to us made no difficulty in promising to follow what I could do. As for Saguima, I told him that he could do what he wanted, but that he should beware, that for me I was going to see Monsieur Dubuisson, our father.

I told them that it was good for me to arrive before them, to warn Monsieur Dubuisson that we were coming in large numbers so that he would not be surprised to see us and would have no suspicion of us.

I was surprised, my father, on approaching the village I saw Monsieur Dubuisson's entrenchment[15] and another house and a fort near it; I suspected that Monsieur Dubuisson had fought with the Mascouten. I saw clearly as I approached closer that he was on the point of being attacked and that he needed help, whereupon I went quickly to the fort of the Hurons, who opened one of their doors, having recognized me. I was seen by a Mascouten who went to tell the village of the Foxes[16] that I had arrived.

[15] Tensions had been rising between the French and the Meskwaki living near Detroit. The situation escalated further when the Meskwaki heard that their Mascouten allies had been attacked by Saguima and Makisabé, leading them to burn an Odawa house just outside the gate of the French fort, which led Dubuisson to construct a redoubt around some of the French buildings outside the fort, see "Siege of Detroit," 268-69.

[16] Here, the text refers to the Meskwaki as Regnards (Foxes), rather than Outagamis as in most of the rest of the document. Though potentially an oversight, this may also be a reference to

I spoke to the Hurons and told them the subject [end 89v] of my trip, that I came to continue the war against the Mascouten, whom we were pursuing and whom we intended to destroy. I presented them with my calumet from which they smoked and told me that my arrival gave them pleasure and that our father would be pleased see us because he had been attacked by the Outagamis.

While I was in the Hurons' fort the Foxes told Monsieur Dubuisson that they knew that Makisabé was in the Hurons' fort and that they wanted to eat him, and that if by chance he opposed it they would burn his cabins and do the same to him.

Monsieur Dubuisson told me by Monsieur de Vincennes not to be upset, and not to expose myself due to his strong fear that something bad would happen to me because the roads were guarded by the Mascouten, thereupon I resolved to die rather than leave our father in the hands of the Mascouten. I sent two Hurons to tell our people to come and I made up my mind to completely destroy the Outagamis and the Mascouten since they wanted to eat me and they upset our father, Monsieur Dubuisson, whom I told that he had to [end 90r] give us powder, bullets, and food so that we could fight.

When the Outagamis learned that about six hundred of us were coming, he seized half the French fort. We did not want to strike at first, wanting to try to get, by gentle means, Saguima's wife, who they had taken with a few others.

Makisabé, having fallen ill, could not finish all he had to say, and two days later he died.

the prominent Meskwkai Fox clan, since Meskwaki war chiefs traditionally came from this clan. See William Jones, *Ethnography of the Fox Indians*, ed. Margaret W. Fisher, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 125 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Print Office, 1939), 73-76, 81.

The Bolivarian Moment: Neoclassicism and the Creole Political Class

FRANCESCA LANGER

Fresh from witnessing Napoleon's coronation in Paris, the young Simón Bolívar and his mentor Simón Rodríguez wandered between Europe's glittering capitals in a state of restless disillusionment. When they reached Rome, it is said that Bolívar fell to his knees upon the Sacred Mount, where the ancient plebeians first rose against their patrician rulers, and vowed that he would not rest until he had liberated South America from Spain. If the crown Napoleon donned in 1804—in Bolívar's words, "a miserable, gothic thing"—signaled the death of the revolutionary dream in Europe, then it was all the more glorious and necessary to pursue that dream in America.[1] Surrounded by majestic Roman ruins, the future *Libertador* declared that the Old World had "given examples for everything: the harshness of antiquity, the austerity of republics, the depravity of emperors…great historians, distinguished scientists, illustrious warriors…celebrated virtues and vulgar crimes." Everything, he concluded, "but the cause of humanity." The "great problem of human freedom," with which European civilization had struggled for millennia, was "a mystery to be solved only in the New World."[2]

This pronouncement, known as the Oath at Rome, would become one of several key episodes in the semi-legendary biography that Bolívar's contemporaries had already begun to compile during his lifetime. The scene, as related by Rodríguez to biographer Manuel Uribe Ángel, retroactively cast the twenty-two-year-old dandy on his Grand Tour of Europe as an Aeneas-like figure of historical necessity, already burdened by the knowledge of his future greatness. Indeed, the oath reads like a soliloquy by Virgil's Trojan hero, using the genre conven-

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[1] Luis Perú de Lacroix, *Diario de Bucaramanga*, (Caracas: Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Comunicación y la Información, 2009), 75.

[2] Manuel Uribe Ángel, "El Libertador, su ayo y su capellán," in *Homenaje de Colombia al Libertador en su Primer Centenario, 1783–1883*, ed. M. Ezequiel Corrales (Bogotá: Medardo Rivas, 1884), 73-4. Bolívar himself recalled the event in a letter to Rodríguez as a defining moment of his life. Simón Bolívar to Simón Rodríguez, January 19, 1824, Archivo del Libertador (Caracas), Sección O'Leary, tomo 45, fols. 289-290. Estante C, Cuerpo 2, Tramo IV. Transcribed in La Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes: https://cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc1v5f1.

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tions of classical epic to formulate a utopian panamericanism that was itself thoroughly modern. The text invoked the ancient notion of *translatio studii et imperii* (the transfer of knowledge and power) which was the central theme of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Just as the mantle of destiny had followed Aeneas from Asia Minor and the East to Italy and the West, it would now pass from the Old World to the New World.[3]

Figure I. *Juramento del Monte Sacro*, by Tito Salas, ca. 1931. From the ceiling of the Panteón Nacional de Venezuela, Caracas, among other murals depicting the life of Bolívar. Here, Bolívar and his mentor Rodríguez overlook the ruins of the Roman Forum as Bolívar vows to liberate Spanish America.

Between the 1770s and the 1830s, a wave of independence movements

[3] Elise Bartosik-Vélez, "Simón Bolívar's Rome," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25, no. 4 (2018): 337-39.

largely succeeded in wresting control of the Western Hemisphere from Europe. These movements took place over vast territories, involved millions of participants, and produced copious literature explaining and justifying themselves to the world. They established a series of precarious and dubiously democratic republics, which were nonetheless among the world's first modern nation-states, and which present some of the earliest examples of political cultures structured by mass media and mass participation. And they were led by a class of men of which Bolívar himself was perhaps the quintessential example: the American-born creole elite.

As Caroline Winterer has observed, classical learning became increasingly secularized and politicized in British America during the second half of the eighteenth century, as universities began to produce fewer clergymen and more classically educated professionals, especially lawyers.[4] Victor Uribe-Uran points to a similar group of doctors, lawyers, and college-educated *letrados* as leaders in the development of a public sphere in late-colonial Spanish America. These armchair revolutionaries hatched a number of abortive, small-scale republican plots in the decades preceding independence, though at first their subversive activities rarely extended beyond discussing Enlightenment science and republican political theory within their network of *tertulias* (the rough Iberian equivalent of the French *salon*).[5] It was the members of this professional class who would go on to organize inchoate political parties, and to fund an explosion of partisan newspapers, first to serve the cause of independence, and later to facilitate their feverish machinations against one another. Defensive of their rustic American homeland, anxious of their status relative to Europeans, hopeful and fearful of the masses below them, and increasingly persuaded of their own special historical destiny, the creole professional class cast themselves as the modern vindicators of a long-lost Roman republican dream.

In its efforts to resurrect the old Republic in a New World, this rising political class found itself at the crossroads of ancient and modern political dilemmas. Traditional republican theory held that a Caesar figure would inevitably arise, that the Republic would always give way to the corruption of the Empire, as the example of Napoleon seemed to confirm. The question for Bolívar, and his peers throughout the hemisphere, was how America might succeed where Europe had failed. The answer, they decided, was in America's hybrid nature: its special inheritance of both European and Native American legacies, and its potential to

[4] Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 16-7.

[5] Victor M. Uribe-Uran, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 2 (2000): 425-57.

provide the final synthesis of world history in the form of the seemingly oxymoronic Republican Empire.

Throughout his career, Bolívar remained preoccupied with matters of political style; while he lamented Napoleon's betrayal of the French Revolution, he admitted in the same breath to admiring *L'Empereur*'s singular panache.[6] In an effort to strike a tone that was both properly republican and suitably grandiose, he repeatedly returned to the image of America as a modern-day Rome, built on the soil of the Inca and Aztec Empires. "We are not Europeans, and we are not Indians," he would tell the Congress of Angostura in 1819, "but a middle kind (*una especie media*) between the Natives and the Spaniards."[7] The heroic image of America against the backdrop of globalized classicism had both intellectual and political utility. It was not only a reflection of how independence leaders saw themselves, but also of their efforts to represent a new, synthetic kind of nation-state, to interact with a new kind of public, and to navigate a new media environment. With one foot in a civic republican tradition dating back to Machiavelli, and another in the emerging realities of modern mass politics, creole patriots developed a unique symbolic framework for interpreting American Independence, its place in world history, and its confrontation with the problems of republicanism. A unique creole classical aesthetic, which combined Greco-Roman and indigenous American iconography, provided the rhetorical, visual, and ritual vocabulary of this paradigm-straddling creole ideology.

As political thinkers, the leaders of the American Independence movements were notoriously self-contradictory. The imperial crises that led to independence produced a cohort of flamboyant philosopher kings, still venerated across the hemisphere, whose voluminous pronouncements on history, politics, and human nature continue to inspire and confound. Bolívar, as much as Thomas Jefferson or any of his U.S. peers, can be selectively read as either a supremely democratic or cynically anti-democratic thinker. It is perhaps this very oracular quality that has allowed these figures to survive as national symbols for so long, for they have been—in four centuries now—whatever Americans have needed them to be.

Although they frequently addressed themselves to *all time* and *all mankind*, these creole patriot authors are best understood as political actors, responding to a particular set of circumstances. Despite their significant linguistic, cultural, and religious differences, Anglo and Latin American elites faced a similar set of political challenges. As Joshua Simon has shown, the colonial elite throughout both

[6] Lacroix, *Diario de Bucaramanga*, 75.

[7] Bolívar, "Discurso del General Bolívar al Congreso el dia de su instalacion" [*Discurso de Angostura*], February 27, 1819, *Correo del Orinoco* no. 20. Digitized in La Biblioteca Virtual del Banco de la República:
https://babel.banrepcultural.org/digital/collection/p17054coll26/id/4005/rec/79.

British and Spanish America shared a common worldview that justified both their struggle for independence from Europe and their right as a class to govern America. It was their shared position as creoles, caught between the European elite above them and the diverse American majority below, that drove both Anglo and Latin American revolutionaries to make similar arguments for independence, to undertake similar nation-building efforts, and to express similar aspirations for the future of the hemisphere. Their great task was to achieve independence from Europe, a project that required significant popular support, without displacing themselves as a ruling class in the process. Their infamous ideological slipperiness was the result of navigating these countervailing forces.[8]

The European colonization of the Americas had given rise to a distinct category of American-born persons of European descent, whose interests and views diverged from both the imperial elite and the colonial majority. A subset of this intermediate, *creole* population consisting of lawyers, physicians, academics, military officers, and clergy, came to serve an increasingly important professional-managerial role in late colonial society. The second half of the eighteenth century would turn this professional class into a self-conscious political class, as reorganization of both the British and Spanish Empires following the Seven Years War resulted in new imperial impositions on colonists who had become accustomed to a high degree of autonomy. In both the British and Spanish cases, imperial modernization efforts empowered the mother country's politicians and bureaucrats at the expense of the monarchy and sought to consolidate imperial control over their American territories. These changes fostered resentment among colonists and contributed to the emergence of a distinct "creole patriotism," first described as such by D.A. Brading.[9]

During this period, neoclassicism became the preferred aesthetic of both Georgian and Bourbon elites as various European empires vied for the title of a modern-day Rome.[10] The self-conscious imitation of antiquity became an internationally recognized mark of modernity, and what distinguished neoclassicism from the other dominant aesthetic genres of the eighteenth-century Atlantic World was its explicitly political character. The Rome of the early modern imagination, of Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, was the theater of elite power struggles and popular unrest that provided the foundation

[8] Joshua Simon, *The Ideology of Creole Revolution: Imperialism and Independence in American and Latin American Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[9] D.A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[10] Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Paul B. Niell and Stacie G. Widdifield, eds., *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America, 1780–1910* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013).

for the taxonomy of politics itself.[11] This Rome's highest virtue was patriotism, and its gravest sin treason, for without the hope of a Christian afterlife, its people led lives dominated by earthly affairs, amidst a cosmos governed by capricious and unsympathetic forces. Even its great philosophers were lawyers—its great poets, propagandists—its great warriors, lovers, and martyrs, politicians.

Love of the nation, and the desire to emulate its national heroes produced virtue in these imaginary Romans, despite their heathenhood. Cotton Mather allowed that while "the Romans of old" lacked the sense of "an Infinite God, who takes notice of all that passes," they nonetheless had "made it a Rule of a prudent Conduct [to] Imagine Cato to stand by and look on." To the extent that Rome provided role models, it was in this respect. "Certainly," Mather continued, "it would Restrain us from very many Impertinencies, if we could in our Visits consider our selves as observed by those men that are wiser than our selves."[12] By the eighteenth century, the stated rationale for prioritizing the classical canon in university curricula was to inculcate a kind of secular, civic virtue in the elite young men who would go on to take positions in the increasingly complex imperial bureaucracies of the Atlantic World.

For colonial Americans, who lived at the edges of these states' influence, the classical canon provided a powerful symbolic vocabulary for describing the contingent, contested world of human events that surrounded them. Classical stories, such as the abdication of Cincinnatus or the assassination of Julius Caesar, were essentially secular parables, transmitting lessons about human psychology, conflict, and power that seemed especially applicable in intense, politically unstable times. The nature and quality of classical instruction varied throughout this highly diverse and decentralized colonial world: New England puritans placed great value on the classical canon as a requirement for learned Protestant clergy, while their Catholic counterparts in much of Spanish America, though generally

[11] J. G. A. Pocock identifies this early modern view of antiquity with a continuous civic republican tradition across the centuries from Renaissance Italy to the American Revolution in *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). I follow scholars like Srinivas Aravamudan in building on Pocock while taking a more holistic and less schematic view of civic republican ideology: "Though Pocock in excess distorts the picture, he can be ignored only at peril," Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 105-6. My approach is not to look for a coherent ideology of American Independence, but to examine how patriotic and republican ideas both shaped and were shaped by the media environment of the independence movements, and the various political, literary, and mythological traditions which early Americans found useful.

[12] Cotton Mather, *The Rules of a Visit*…(Boston: Timothy Green, 1705), 9. Further bibliographic details for this work can be found in the English Short Title Catalogue, where it is known as ESTC W19419.

trained in Latin, were less likely to put such emphasis on the pagan authors.[13] Nevertheless, from Harvard University to the University of Chuquisaca, students were exposed to the works of Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Sallust, Livy, Plutarch, and Homer, as well as modern political theorists whose writings were influenced by these ancient authors, such as Machiavelli, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.[14] A familiar set of ancient Greek and Roman texts remained at the core of a gentlemanly education into the nineteenth century.[15]

A shared set of classical referents helped the creole political class to define and discipline its membership. In a revolutionary situation, in which class boundaries might be thrown into question, the classical education designed to prepare

[13] At times, the primacy of the pagan classics may have seemed in tension with Christianity, but puritans were able to reconcile the two without much difficulty. They generally believed it was desirable for an educated clergy to be well-versed in what they called "humane letters," which required mastery of the classical canon. David A. Lupher, *Greeks, Romans, and Pilgrims: Classical Receptions in Early New England* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 1-3. Universities in colonial Spanish America employed the syllabus of the School of Salamanca, a reformed scholastic curriculum which placed a greater emphasis on the methods and practices of knowledge production in contrast to the Protestants' fealty to certain canonical texts. Thomas Duve, "The School of Salamanca: A Case of Global Knowledge Production," in *The School of Salamanca: A Case of Global Knowledge Production*, eds. Thomas Duve, José Luis Egío, and Christiane Birr (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 7. Yet early Spanish Americans were intimately familiar with the classical world. The received wisdom of the ancients took on new meaning in America, where Spanish colonists frequently interpreted unfamiliar Native American cultures through the lens of Greco-Roman antiquity. As Sabine MacCormack observed in her study of Neoclassicism in early colonial Peru, classical antiquity formed so much of the cultural and physical backdrop of Medieval Europe that "Roman and classical literature provided a framework…for the construal of historical experience itself." Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), xv. For a more detailed discussion of the uneven implementation of the School of Salamanca curriculum in Spanish American universities, the relative difficulty of accessing books in the New World, the gradual emergence of more secular/professional learning towards the end of the colonial period, and the diffusion of Enlightenment ideologies in colonial Spanish America see Natacha Bacolla and Ignacio Martínez, "La toga y el ágora. Las reformas universitarias en perspectiva histórica," and Susana Gazmuri Stein, "La Universidad de San Felipe y la Ilustración en los Márgenes (1738–1839)," in *Universidad, élites y política: de las reformas borbónicas al reformismo de 1918*, eds. Natacha Bacolla and Ignacio Martínez (Rosario: HyA Ediciones, 2018), 7-24 and 51-75.

[14] Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 12-13; Charles W. Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957), 4-8.

[15] As J. David Hoeveler notes, Harvard's 1646 admission criteria "should be cause for wonder to today's students," as it required students be able to read classical Latin fluently. J. David Hoeveler, *Creating the American Mind: Intellect and Politics in the Colonial Colleges* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 30. Entrance requirements at Yale and William and Mary were similar. Some early American scholars, such as Thomas Jefferson's own professor James Murray, advocated for American universities to break from European tradition by de-emphasizing the classics (Ibid., 95-96). But by the second half of the eighteenth century, despite reform efforts by such luminaries as Benjamin Franklin at the College of Philadelphia, "Latin and Greek remained staples of the entire collegiate course" (Ibid., 173).

future gentlemen to lead public lives remained an important mark of gentlemanly status. The civic virtue supposedly derived from this education helped to explain and justify the domination of early American politics by a small political elite.[16] As Joanne Freeman has observed, aspects of European honor culture endured longer in America than in Europe, while at the same time, aspects of modern mass politics emerged earlier in America.[17] The class value system of the creole elite was somewhere between an early modern *code duello* and a bourgeois professional mentality. In the absence of formal political institutions such as parties, the classical idiom of honor, glory, and civic virtue helped a precarious and highly personalized elite, newly answerable to popular pressures and anxious of its status relative to Europe, to distinguish itself from the masses and enforce political norms on its members.

But the classical idiom did more than help status-conscious creoles show off their erudition; it helped them to think through the great questions of their age. For the old civic republican theorists like Machiavelli, ancient Greco-Roman history showed that the balanced Republic was constantly teetering between the extremes of tyranny and anarchy. This ideology made sense to the creole political class, who found themselves continuously threatened by foreign domination on the one hand and the possibility of domestic uprising on the other. The explosion of written constitutions across the hemisphere, only a subset of which ever went into effect, show a serious concern with classical notions of balance.[18] In the aftermath of independence, Bolívar told the Congress of Angostura, America had "found itself like the Roman Empire when that great mass fell."[19] In other words, a vast, ungovernable territory, with a radically diverse, diffuse, unequal, and divided population.

And yet, in their most messianic moments, panamericanists like Bolívar saw in their necessarily limited political project something like the liberation of all mankind. J.G.A. Pocock detected within the civic republican tradition a kind of proto-Marxist secular historicism.[20] For creole patriots, American Independence

[16] In the aftermath of the American Revolution, college-educated professionals mounted "defenses of the existence of a heavily classical curriculum that would safeguard the pedigree of the gentleman." Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism*, 41.

[17] Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). See also Sarah C. Champers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999).

[18] Pierángelo Catalano, *Constitución Romana y Pueblos de América Latina* (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2020).

[19] Bolívar, *Discurso de Angostura.*

[20] Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, 461, 505. Glen C. Dealy discusses how modern Latin American political cultures arrived at Marxism via a distinctive Catholic humanist and civic republican route: "It is this attempt to recapture the past, to realign their ethical values with political, social, and economic reality of their countries, which has provided the impetus for

heralded the final stage of world history, the synthesis of Old and New Worlds—the free and uncorrupted spirit of the Indians, combined with the prosperity and grandeur of Europe—culminating in the form of a Republic which was somehow also an Empire. The metaphor of the return of antiquity was a conceptual tool for navigating the perils and opportunities which the emerging democratic nation-state represented.

What has sometimes been taken as an early form of *mestizaje* or *indigenismo* among Latin American Independence leaders is better understood as a form of neoclassicism, which linked them intellectually with their Anglo-American peers. Creole classicism was, first and foremost, a lingua franca of the creole political class. Glorification of the indigenous past did not imply political representation for contemporary indigenous people, for the creole elite posited *themselves* as the inheritors of ancient glory. In Cecilia Méndez's pithy formula, the rule for creole patriot representations of the nation was "Incas yes, Indians no."[21] Spanish American patriots adopted Inca and Aztec imagery for more or less the same reasons the members of the Boston Tea Party dressed as Mohawks; neither had much to do with twentieth-century notions of *indigenismo*. Rather, classicization involved removal to the plane of heroic time, a symbolic realm detached from the flow of historical time. Like the more traditional Greco-Roman mythography, classicization of the precolumbian world was a tool for thinking about the present, through comparison with the heroic, legendary, canonical, and yet somewhat lurid and exotic past.

While Bolívar was still Rodríguez's teenaged student, his fellow Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda was already agitating for South American Independence from Spain. Like Thomas Paine or the Marquis de Lafayette, Miranda belonged to the category of colorful freelance revolutionaries who wandered the Atlantic World in those days, living what must have been among the most exciting and cosmopolitan lives of anyone in history. Something of an outcast among the Caracas elite, Miranda's father Sebastian, who was born in the Canary Islands, had spent years attempting to prove his family's *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) after a group of rival aristocrats accused him of being a *mulatto*. As a young man, Miranda joined the Spanish military and was stationed in Africa, where he studied

Latin American revolution in this century. The appeal of communism in these nations is grounded on the somewhat similar teleology it proclaims. But one must recall that the Mexican Constitution which is so widely emulated preceded the Russian Revolution. It is from Saint Thomas [Aquinas] and Machiavelli rather than from Marx and Lenin that Latin Americans ultimately derive their political bearings." Dealy, "The Tradition of Monistic Democracy in Latin America," in *Politics and Social Change in Latin America: Still a Distinct Tradition?*, ed. Howard J. Wiarda, 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 52.

[21] Cecilia Méndez, *Incas sí, indios no: apuntes para el estudio del nacionalismo criollo en Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1993).

the Quran, developed a degree of sympathy for his Moorish enemies, and began to think critically about the workings of Spain's vast empire. He fought as a Spanish ally in the American Revolution, then spent much of the 1780s on the run from the Spanish Inquisition, and the 1790s first as a general in the French Revolutionary Army, and then as a political prisoner of the Jacobins. In 1798, having somehow dodged the guillotine, he fled to London on a Danish ship, already plotting his next adventure.[22]

Figure II. Frontispiece engraving by Charles-Étienne Gaucher in *South American Emancipation…Made by General Miranda, for the Attainment of That Object During the Last Twenty-Five Years* (London: R. Juigné, 1810).

From his London exile, Miranda is said to have founded the secretive *Logia de los Caballeros Racionales* (Society of the Knights of Reason), a revolutionary network whose membership eventually included Bolívar, as well as independence

[22] Karen Racine, *Francisco de Miranda: A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1816* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002).

leaders Bernardo O'Higgins and José de San Martín.[23] In America, the club became known as the *Logia de Lautaro*, named for a sixteenth-century Mapuche warrior famous for his campaigns against the Spanish conquistadors. Lautaro was best known to nineteenth-century creoles from the epic poem *La Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla, in which the indigenous leader was said to have "a higher claim to glory" than the greatest Greek and Roman generals "Curtius, Horatius, Scaevola, and Leonidas… Furius, Marcellus, Fulvius, and Cincinnatus."[24] For Miranda and his co-conspirators, such classicized depictions of indigenous resistance to the Spanish conquest became powerful symbols of the creole desire for independence from Spain. Initiates to the Lautaro Society would learn to recite a dialogue that began with the exchange: "Who must we emulate? The valiant Lautaro. What did Lautaro do? He died to defend his country. What was his country? Our own country."[25]

The aim of Miranda's networking efforts was to build international support for an invasion of Venezuela that would expel the Spanish authorities and establish a new, republican government. In London, he tried and failed to secure British sponsorship for the project.[26] But the ardent panamericanist was already getting ahead of himself. In 1789, he drew up a speculative plan for a super-state called *Colombeia*, which would include all of Spain's American territories under a single republican constitution. The name was a Greek neologism meaning "in relation to Colombia," a possible play on *Politeia*, the original Greek name for Plato's *Republic* (Miranda is said to have borrowed this wordplay from the enslaved U.S. poet Phillis Wheatley).[27] The constitution combined classical Roman and indigenous American

[23] Miranda was the founder according to legend, though as its members intended, the society's true origins remain obscure: "Su carácter secreto, sellado con el juramento de no dar información, a que se sujetaban sus miembros, dificulta conocer los pormenores de sus movimientos y su verdadera significación." Norbeto Galasso, *Seamos libres y lo demás no importa nada: vida de San Martín* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Colihue, 2000), 52.

[24] "No los dos Publios Decios, que las vidas/ sacrificaron por la patria amada/ ni Curcio, Horacio, Scévola y Leonidas/ dieron muestra de sí tan señalada,/ ni aquellos que en las guerras más reñidas/ alcanzaron gran fama por la espada,/ Furio, Marcelo, Fulvio, Cincinato,/ Marco Sergio, Filón, Sceva y Dentato." Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana* (Santa Fe: El Cid Editor, 2003 [og. pub. 1569]), 70 [Canto III].

[25] From the oral account of José Matías Zapiola, a member who later revealed secrets of the Lautaro Society to Argentine President Bartolomé Mitre, quoted in José Manuel Estrada, *Lecciones públicas sobre historia de la República de Argentina Tomo II*, (Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio de Pedro Igón y Cía, 1898), 53.

[26] Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*, 142-43.

[27] Juan Carlos Chirinos, *Francisco de Miranda, el nómada sentimental* (Caracas: Editorial Norma, 2006), 23. It is interesting to note that in his correspondence with Europeans, such as British Prime Minister William Pitt, Miranda consistently used terms like "South America" and "Spanish America," while using the term "Colombia" when addressing fellow Americans, both North and South. Elise Bartosik-Velez, *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas: New*

elements, with an emperor bearing the title of "Inca," and a body of lifelong senators called "Caciques," as well as two "Censors" elected by the people to supervise and check their power.[28] In its preposterously ambitious scope and its gesture towards global cultural synthesis and universal Americanism, the document laid out Miranda's vision of the Republican Empire.

Miranda's efforts soon put him in contact with a certain U.S. citizen who shared his continent-sized thirst for glory: the former treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton. The two had been introduced back in 1784, while Miranda was briefly hiding out from the Inquisition in New York.[29] In 1792, from his office in Paris, Miranda had written to Hamilton of the progress of the Revolution in France, and of their shared hopes for "our dear Country America, from the North to the South."[30] Now, Miranda wrote again, in search of U.S. backing for his planned expedition to liberate Venezuela.

Hamilton hardly needed persuading, expressing his eagerness "to be an instrument of so good a work," and hinting that he would personally lead ground troops into Caracas, if only the U.S. government would authorize it.[31] The very same day, he wrote to fellow Federalist Rufus King, then ambassador to Britain, about his correspondence with Miranda, citing the necessity of establishing a "moderate government" in Venezuela, that would avoid the extremes of anarchy and tyranny—and, crucially, ensure favorable trade conditions for the United States.[32] Burned by his time in a Jacobin prison, Miranda agreed. He told Hamilton of his disillusionment with the French Revolution and his desire to establish a "mixed form of government" in the style of their "Greek predecessor Solon," the ancient statesman said to have laid the foundations of Athenian democracy.[33] With what he regarded as the death of Liberty in France, Miranda wrote, "let us all unite firmly to bring about the Salvation of our dear Homeland, and perhaps…we shall save the whole World."[34]

Throughout their correspondence, it is obvious that Miranda and Hamilton,

Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014), 112-14.

[28] Francisco de Miranda, "Draft Constitution for Spanish America," c. 1798, in *Latin American Independence: An Anthology of Sources,* eds. Sarah C. Chambers and John Charles Chasteen (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 2010), 57. Miranda's biographer Karen Racine describes the plan as "a strange hybrid of ideas from Britain, ancient Rome, indigenous America, and the United States," in Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*, 107.

[29] Alexander Hamilton to Francisco de Miranda, November 23, 1784, *Founders Online*, National Archives (https://founders.archives.gov).

[30] Francisco de Miranda to Alexander Hamilton, November 4, 1792, *Founders Online.*

[31] Alexander Hamilton to Francisco de Miranda, August 22, 1798, *Founders Online.*

[32] Alexander Hamilton to Rufus King, August 22, 1798, *Founders Online.*

[33] Francisco de Miranda to Alexander Hamilton, April 6, 1798, *Founders Online.*

[34] Francisco de Miranda to Alexander Hamilton, November 10, 1798, *Founders Online.*

who both denounced the imperialism of France's revolutionary government, thought nothing of lobbying for the United States to intervene in Venezuela. They agreed that the creole political class to which they both belonged had a special right to govern America, and that their brand of republican imperialism was legitimate, while France's was illegitimate. Bringing the American Revolution to Venezuela was not, in their view, the imposition of a foreign system, but almost the realization of a historical necessity. As unlikely as it would have seemed to most observers in 1798, vanguardists like Miranda already felt certain that the future of the entire hemisphere was independent and republican. His anglophone interlocutors shared his confidence, speaking the same language of hemispheric greatness. "The destiny of the New World," Rufus King wrote to Hamilton of Miranda's plans, "and I have full and firm Persuasion that it will be both happy and glorious, is in our Hands."[35]

In his capacity as ambassador to Britain, King came into possession of the papers of the exiled Peruvian Jesuit Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, who had died in London in February of 1798. He turned the papers over to Miranda, who discovered among them a blistering manifesto entitled *Lettre aux espagnols américains* ("Letter to Spanish Americans"), which would become the basis for Miranda's next lobbying campaign.[36] In the *Letter*, Viscardo made a historical case for creole independence. He argued that as descendants of the conquistadors, who had undertaken the great risk and hardship of conquering the New World, the creole elite had a right to rule there. "Although it was not the most just," he said of the Spanish Conquest, "it was at least as good as that right which the ancient Goths of Spain had, to appropriate the fruits of their courage and labors." At the same time, Viscardo cited the brutal execution of the "young and innocent Inca Túpac Amaru" as told in the chronicles of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, as an example of American courage in the face of European tyranny.[37]

[35] Rufus King to Alexander Hamilton, July 31, 1798, *Founders Online*.

[36] Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*, 147.

[37] Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, *Lettre aux espagnols américains* (Philadelphia, 1799), 3, 13. Miranda also translated the letter into Spanish and published it as *Carta derijida* [sic] *a los Españoles Americanos* (London: P. Boyle, 1801).

Figure III. *Constitucion federal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* ([Ciudad de México]: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno de los Estados-unidos mexicanos, en Palacio, 1824), Library of Congress Control Number 11031218. Seal of the Mexican Republic, by José Mariano Torreblanca. An indigenous Aztec coat of arms combined with Roman liberty cap and bows of laurel and oak represent both Mexican patriotism and civic republicanism.

This seemingly contradictory claim to represent both the European heritage of the conquistadors, and the indigenous heritage of the great Incas, was at the heart of creole patriot mythology. Though Viscardo mentioned the mixture of Indian and European blood, it was not ethnicity *per se*, but the historical experience of settling the New World which distinguished the creoles as a people from Europeans. In other words, his claims of Inca descent were not to be taken literally. Famous tales of indigenous resistance against the Conquest functioned as

secular parables, in much the same way as the legends of ancient Greece and Rome. While early modern Europeans received their political education by studying the classical Greco-Roman canon, the indigenous American past represented an alternate classicism for the continent's creole elite, one which reflected the supposed *innocence* and *liberty* of their New World. By absorbing the lessons of both, learned creoles could claim an unprecedented cosmopolitanism which would allow them to perfect the Republic—something which Europeans, in their incomplete knowledge of the world, had consistently failed to do.[38]

Viscardo ended his *Letter* with a stirring call to action: "The courage with which the English colonies of America have fought for freedom," he wrote, "which they now gloriously enjoy, covers our indolence with shame. We have ceded the laurels to them, with which they have crowned the first independent sovereignty of the New World." Striking the messianic panamericanist tone that so appealed to Miranda, he continued, "Let us newly discover America again, for all our brothers, the inhabitants of this globe…The reward will be no less for them than it is for us." Viscardo described his vision of the New World as a refuge for all mankind, a land "covered with men of all nations," especially those "fleeing from oppression and misery." Out of the brutality of the Conquest, he suggested, there had come a new universalism, a violent but historically necessary collision of two previously separate halves of Earth. "America will reconcile the extremities of the world," he declared, and convert mankind into "a single Great Family of Brothers."[39] While King paid for Viscardo's *Letter* to be published in London in its original French, Miranda translated it into Spanish for distribution throughout America. Copies of the manifesto circulated for years, bedeviling the Office of the Inquisition. By the time of Miguel Hidalgo's 1810 Rebellion in Mexico, Spanish imperial authorities were still struggling to suppress the document's popularity among literate creoles in Mexico City.[40] Like many Spanish American revolutionary tracts of the period, the *Letter* bore a false Philadelphia imprint. Miranda and other authors employed this device both as a way of confusing imperial censors, and as a symbolic invocation of the city of Philadelphia as the vanguard of hemispheric independence.[41]

After years of failing to secure British military support for his scheme, Miranda finally gave up on London and set sail for New York in 1805, by which time his co-conspirator Hamilton had already met his fateful end in a duel with Vice President Aaron Burr. The world of the globetrotting creole elite was, at

[38] Viscardo y Guzmán, *Lettre aux espagnols américains*.

[39] Viscardo y Guzmán, *Lettre aux espagnols américains*, 37-41.

[40] Racine, *Francisco Miranda*, 147.

[41] Rodrigo Lazo, *Letters from Filadelfia: Early Latino Literature and the Trans-American Elite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 43.

times, a remarkably small one: On his way down to Washington, Miranda ran into Burr in Philadelphia. The disgraced vice president was at that point too embroiled in his own adventures in the Louisiana territory to have any part in Miranda's scheme, though as he later said of their conversation "my heart and feelings are…wholly and warmly with the patriots of Venezuela."[42] In Washington, Miranda got down to business soliciting the aid of then-president Thomas Jefferson. The need to maintain peace with Spain prevented U.S. intervention of the kind Hamilton had fantasized about but didn't necessarily stop the cause of Venezuela from finding a sympathetic ear. Just as he had with Hamilton and King, Miranda rhapsodized to Jefferson about "the future destiny of our dear Colombia."[43] Appealing to Jefferson's sense of patriotism, he established their common ground as creoles by quoting (in the original Latin) this passage from Virgil's *Aeneid*:

> That last great age foretold by sacred rhymes,
> Renews its finish'd course; Saturnian times,
> Roll round again, and mighty years began,
> From this first orb, in radiant circles ran.[44]

Playing on the Virgilian theme of *translatio studii et imperii*, Miranda chose this passage in reference to the return of the Age of Saturn in the New World. The Age of Saturn, according to ancient Roman tradition, was the Golden Age of peace and abundance that existed before civilization fell into decline. American Independence, Miranda told Jefferson, would mark "the arrival of that age, the return of which the Roman bard [Virgil] invoked in favor of the human race."[45]Although the United States did not officially intervene in what would turn out to be a failed expedition to liberate Venezuela in 1806, Miranda did manage to secure (with a Jeffersonian wink and nudge) some number of private U.S. ships and guns, and at least two hundred U.S. recruits. According to one of them, a New Yorker named James Biggs, Miranda's Anglo-American followers were convinced of "the glory and advantages of the enterprise" in part by the general's eloquent appeals to classical antiquity. "He took excursions to Troy, Babylon, Jerusalem, Rome, Athens, and Syracuse," Biggs recalled. "Men famed as statesmen, heroes, patriots, conquerors and tyrants, priests and scholars he produced, and weighed their merits and defects." For Miranda's recruits, a number of

[42] Aaron Burr to Jeremy Bentham, October 16, 1811, in *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr*, ed. Matthew L. Davis (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838), 2: 255.
[43] Francisco de Miranda to Thomas Jefferson, January 22, 1806, *Founders Online*.
[44] Miranda to Jefferson, January 22, 1806.
[45] Miranda to Jefferson, January 22, 1806.

whom had just left college, the didactic use of classical literature would have been intimately familiar, creating a cultural bridge between the New Yorkers and their Venezuelan comrades.[46]

It was in this manner that the classical idiom provided a highly aestheticized and emotive medium for patriotic expression, grounded in a kind of universal antiquity to which both British and Spanish Americans could just as plausibly lay claim. Activists like Miranda successfully marshaled the imagery of antiquity to frame the creole professional class as a virtuous political class—and the struggle for independence as an opportunity for young men educated in the classical canon to finally undertake the kinds of heroic deeds they had until then only read about in books.[47]

In France, the Jacobins had embraced neoclassicism not because of any necessary connection with revolutionary politics, but because it was the one pervasive elite aesthetic that readily lent itself to a revolutionary interpretation.[48] The striking neoclassical canvasses of painter Jacques-Louis David, for example, were originally commissioned by members of the French nobility. Only retroactively, once David himself had thrown in with the Jacobins, did he accept the title of "the author of Brutus and the Horatii, this patriot and Frenchman whose genius anticipated the Revolution."[49] When the Jacobins searched the European past for non-monarchical models of civic life, the Greek city-states, and to an even greater extent the Roman Republic, seemed like the only political legacy worth harkening back to.[50]

The rejection of a familiar vocabulary of symbols associated with the *ancien régime* produced what Lynn Hunt has called "a crisis of representation" within France's revolutionary political culture.[51] The word "representation" refers here to both political representation within the Republic and symbolic representation within the official public sphere. In her analysis of the seal of the French Republic, which featured a nude Hercules wielding a club, Hunt illustrates the circularity of this process. Revolutionary leaders sought to educate the people to become

[46] James Biggs, *The History of Don Francisco de Miranda's Attempt to Effect a Revolution in South America*…(Boston: Oliver & Munroe, 1808), 290-91.

[47] Biggs, *The History of Don Francisco de Miranda*, 10.

[48] Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism: Art and Civilization* (London: Pelican Books, 1968), 69-100; Caroline Winterer, "From Royal to Republican: The Classical Image in Early America," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1268.

[49] Jacques-Louis David, Speech delivered to the Jacobin Club by Edmund-Loius Alexis Dubois-Crancé, October 28, 1790, quoted in Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 398.

[50] David Irwin, *Neoclassicism* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 249-96.

[51] Lynn Hunt, "Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution," *Representations* 2 (1983): 95.

what they supposedly already were, by creating idealized depictions of what they were supposed to be. In his rugged strength and nude simplicity, this Hercules was "an image-representation of the people provided by the people's representatives."[52] This embrace of neoclassicism as a revolutionary aesthetic had its political advantages but sat uncomfortably beside the Jacobins' avowed iconoclasm. After all, why should a truly rational, republican society have any need for nostalgic pseudo-Roman spectacle? Was it not the duty of revolutionary leaders to properly educate the people in republican political theory, rather than seeking to dazzle them with banners and parades? Some called for the abandonment of such manipulation tactics altogether. As one anonymous contributor to the *Annales Patriotiques* argued, the strict empiricist "metaphysical principles of Locke and Condillac" demanded that "the people should be accustomed to see in a statue nothing more than stone and in a painting only canvas and colors."[53]

But as Hunt showed, this kind of purism was never a majority view, even among the most radical Jacobins. Rather, a tension between the principles of republican austerity and the demands of popular mobilization conditioned revolutionary leaders' aesthetic choices. While the legislature of the First French Republic generally agreed upon the necessity of abolishing "the ridiculous hieroglyphs" of the monarchy and aristocracy, they were also convinced of the need to create new symbols capable of "grabbing hold of the senses" in order to promote the proper mode of civic republican consciousness.[54] The Republic needed signs and seals, songs and slogans, statues and canvases, in order to be made real and present in the minds of the people. The question became what kinds of symbols reproduced the irrationalism and decadence of the monarchy, and what kinds were truly republican.

The American Independence movements faced a related, but somewhat different set of aesthetic questions. American patriot leaders seldom expressed the level of hostility the most strident Jacobins evinced towards adopting the trappings of monarchy to suit more republican purposes. Their statues and canvases were to be enchanted with the spirit of the *patria*, in all its more and less republican forms. In a strategy historians have called "wearing the mask of Fernando," Spanish American patriot leaders used the plight of the deposed King Fernando VII to mobilize a largely royalist population against the usurper Napoleon.[55] Their peers in the British Colonies had initially followed a similar pattern, denouncing

[52] Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1984), 100.

[53] *Annales Patriotiques* (November 13, 1793), 1467.

[54] Henri Grégoire, *Rapport fait au Conseil des Cinq-Cents, sur les sceaux de la République, par Gregoire. Séance du 11 pluviôse, an IV* (January 31, 1796), 3.

[55] John C. Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56.

the actions of traitors in Parliament while maintaining their fealty to King George III.[56] While some patriot leaders were highly motivated by republican and egalitarian ideologies, many had no real intention of incorporating the masses into the independent polities they hoped to establish. In both the British and Spanish American cases, patriotism, rather than strict anti-monarchism, was the strongest element.

Figure IV. *The Female Combatants*, Anonymous, January 26, 1776. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Call No. 776.01.26.01. This political cartoon depicts the British Colonies as a rebellious Indian maiden, with a Roman liberty cap to her right.

[56] Brendon McConville argues that in British America, as in Spanish America, independence was the contingent result of imperial crisis, rather than any inchoate republican aspirations among the colonists. Popular royalism dominated colonial American political culture, right up until the moment it didn't; this is to say that it was the independence movement that popularized republican ideology (beyond a radical and learned few) and not the other way around. See Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688–1776* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

The aesthetic task of the creole revolutionaries was therefore to represent Americanness itself as an *ethos*, somewhat abstracted from either a British or Spanish *ethnos*. European artists had long personified America as a passive Indian maiden; Patriot artists from Boston's Paul Revere to Mexico City's Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque classicized—and therefore politicized—her, arming her with a gladiatorial sword and topping her indigenous dress with a Roman liberty cap.[57] These hybrid representations visualized the idea of America as a universalizing figure, a synthesis of the Old and New Worlds. By augmenting the traditional pantheon of Catos and Ciceros with classicized versions of indigenous American figures, such as the Mapuche warrior Lautaro or the Inca Emperor Atahualpa, creole patriots attempted to give the New World its own classical past. Rather than distinguishing Latin American creoles from their Anglo-American peers, the valorization of such figures was used to reinforce the idea of hemispheric solidarity. The *New-York Columbian*, for example, printed editorials in support of the Spanish American cause, which posited Atahualpa as a shared symbol of independence. When the Spanish conquistadors arrived in Peru, the paper claimed, their Old World religious intolerance led them to persecute the Inca for the crime of worshiping the sun. But a defiant Atahualpa would not convert to Christianity, even under pain of death. "Before he was to be sacrificed," wrote the editors, "the insulted prince firmly replied: 'You worship a God who died on a gibbet; we worship the sun, who never dies.'"[58] Interestingly, it was Atahualpa's very paganess, his refusal to accept Christianity as a European import, which marked him as a patriot—a kind of home-grown American Cato. Like the Roman Cato, his pagan virtue was to be admired as a secular political virtue.

[57] See for example: Paul Revere, Masthead Engraving, *The Royal American Magazine* (Boston: November 1774); Anonymous, "The Parricide, or, A Sketch of Modern Patriotism," in *The Westminster Magazine* (London: May 1776); Anonymous, *The Female Combatants* (January 1776); Anonymous, *The Commissioners* (London: Matthias Darly, April 1778); Anonymous, *An Emblem of America*, (c. 1800). A similar figure in sculpture, *América* (1830) was created by Mexican artist Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, and is now at the Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City.

[58] "The Cause of the South Americans," *The New-York Columbian*, September 4, 1817. The Inca Empire was depicted as a proto-republic in Vicente Pazos Kanki, "Extracts from Pazo's Letters No. 1," *City of Washington Gazette,* trans. Jonathan Elliot (April 12, 1819). Andean rebel leader Túpac Amaru II was celebrated in U.S. newspapers as a modern embodiment of this classical Inca republicanism, for example in "Americanus," *Albany Argus* (September 27, 1816).

Figure V. *América*, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, ca. 1825. Museo Nacional de Arte, INBA, Ciudad de México. This statue personifies America as a hybrid, mestizo figure: an Indian maiden in the style of a classical Greco-Roman.

Figure VI. *Allegory of Independence*, Anonymous, 1834. Museo Histórico Curato de Dolores, INAH, Guanajato. This image personifies Mexico as a neoclassical goddess in pseudo-indigenous feathered headdress with a Roman liberty cap. The Mexican Independence hero Miguel Hidalgo crowns Mexico with a wreath of laurels, the Roman symbol of victory.

In the Anglo-American context, the Iroquois leader Logan played a similar role. When the Colony of Virginia defeated his forces in Lord Dunmore's War, after Logan sought revenge for the massacre of his family by Virginian settlers in 1774, he delivered a speech that would become a standard American school text during the first half of the nineteenth century. Studied in classrooms across the United States, the celebrated speech of Logan helped to supply American students with the kind of political and moral education that had traditionally been attributed to Greek and Roman orators like Pericles and Cicero.[59] For Anglo Americans—including members of the very same Virginian polity that had destroyed his family—Logan's rhetorical virtuosity became a point of patriotic pride. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson wrote: "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan."[60] In the inaugural 1842 issue of *The American Pioneer*, a journal of the Logan Historical Society, the editors explained their choice of name as a tribute to America's own home-grown Cicero. "It has been truly stated that no piece of composition ever did more, if so much, as the speech of Logan," they declared, "to form the mind and develop the latent energies of the youthful American orator." Indeed, the editors claimed, the influence of Logan's oratory had "extended even into the halls of Congress," to "the bench and in the bar of this nation," as well as "the American pulpit."[61]

Creole classicism flattered the sensibilities of college-educated professionals who aspired to lead heroic public lives, but patriot leaders were also conscious of the need to get their message to the masses. Like Hunt's Jacobins, they strove to represent—and in so doing, almost to create—a certain kind of American public. Upon the liberation of Caracas, for example, Bolívar threw himself a Roman triumph, riding into the city on a chariot and bowing his head to be crowned with laurels by a group of young girls dressed in white. This ritual performance, before a live audience of thousands, was then reported in newspapers across Spanish America.[62] Since the majority of the population was illiterate, independence activists worked to disseminate these newspapers as widely as possible through oral readings. The revolutionary Junta which took over Buenos Aires in 1810 went so far as to issue an edict requiring every priest in the Río de la Plata to read its official *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres* aloud to their parishioners at the end of

[59] See, for example, the widely used McGuffey Eclectic Reader: William H. McGuffey, "The Speech of Logan," *The Eclectic Fourth Reader: Containing Elegant Extracts in Prose and Poetry, from the Best American and English Writers*, 6th ed. (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1839), 82.

[60] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: John Stockdale, 1787), 104.

[61] *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati), January 1, 1842, p. 7.

[62] The original account appeared in "Entrada triunfante del General Bolívar en Caracas," *Gaceta de Caracas* (August 1813).

each mass.[63] Like the Oath at Rome, the Triumph at Caracas would become a part of Bolívar's far-reaching media image, reproduced in national and international newspapers in a way that would have been impossible in ancient times.

A peculiar combination of traditionalism and futurism, republicanism and imperialism, europeanness and indigeneity epitomized the dominant political aesthetic of the American Independence movements, which borrowed promiscuously from a globalized heroic past, while also conceiving of themselves as historically unique and modern. The rejection of monarchy and the separation from Europe created a vacuum of symbolic authority which patriot leaders in both Anglo and Latin America scrambled to fill. Neoclassicism, the stern and rational style of the French Revolution against the pastel frivolity of the *ancien régime*, was the obvious choice. But the return of republican antiquity meant one thing in dense, ancient Paris, and quite another throughout the vast, rural territories of early America. In their efforts to both classicize the New World and Americanize the classical canon, the creole elite converged upon a shared vision of America as the vanguard of human history against a backward, monarchical Europe. By emphasizing the shared destiny of all those born in the New World, creole classicism provided an intellectual framework for panamerican solidarity that crossed boundaries of language, ethnicity, and religion. It helped to reconcile republican utopianism and universalism with the class interests of the creole elite by justifying their rule in historicist terms. In an Atlantic World still dominated by European empires and their elaborate systems of hierarchy, creole classicism helped make sense of American Independence, both by legitimizing a precarious and highly personalized creole elite, and by providing an ambiguously inclusive and democratic political horizon for the future of the hemisphere.

[63] Orden de la Junta, "La 'Gaceta' debe ser leída por los sacerdotes en las parroquias, después de misa" (1810), in *Idearío de Mayo*, ed. Narciso Binayán (Buenos Aires: Kapelusz, 1960), 137.

From Baron to Bourgeois: Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, Governor of Virginia (1610–1618)

E.M. ROSE

No one is quite sure of the appearance of the man for whom the state of Delaware is named. Depictions alleged to be of Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, the first governor of Virginia, should raise as many eyebrows as the claims that he was a member of the Privy Council or fought in the Low Countries—like those myths, they are creations of the nineteenth century. To date, however, neither the images purportedly of Delaware nor his supposed qualifications have drawn much comment.[1] These images depict Delaware as an unpretentious, robust, simple American—a far cry from how his contemporaries regarded him and why they recruited him to serve as governor. Then, he was lauded for his high birth, noble mien, social standing, and connections. But for over a century he has been depicted as a healthy, stalwart, bluff administrator. Even today, nineteenth-century representations of the baron, many of which are copies of other copies, contribute to and reinforce misunderstandings of Lord De La Warr's place in American history. This essay will assess the historicity of these various depictions of De La Warr. References in brackets correspond to works in the *Appendix: Catalogue of Artworks*, where detailed information and links to reproductions of the portraits mentioned may be found.

Little known today, aside from having given his name to a state, a bay, a river, and to the Delaware tribe of the Lenape Indians, Lord De La Warr was an important colonial figure even though his presence in America was brief.[2] The

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[1] For the only recent treatments of Lord Delaware, see E. M. Rose, "Lord Delaware, First Governor of Virginia, 'the Poorest Baron of this Kingdom'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 128, no. 3 (2020), 226-58; J. Frederick Fausz, "West, Thomas, third Baron De La Warr," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (October 4, 2008); Warren Billings, "Thomas West twelfth baron De La Warr," *Encyclopedia Virginia* (December 7, 2020).

[2] De La Warr does not even appear in Disney's *Pocahontas II: Journey to a New World* (1998), the animated sequel to *Pocahontas* (1995), despite his role in introducing the Native American princess to King James I and Queen Anna.

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first nobleman to come to English America, Baron De La Warr rescued the Jamestown colony in 1610 by bringing much-needed men and supplies, but soon fell ill and departed after only ten months. De La Warr returned home to London with his doctor, minister, translator, and fifty men of his personal guard outfitted in his scarlet livery. In 1618, he died at sea on his way back to Virginia for a second tour of duty.

Figure [1]. Original "Buckhurst Portrait" of Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, attributed date ca. 1605. Oil on wood panel. Acc. No. JYF2000.2. Jamestown Settlement, galleries. Courtesy of Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.

The subject of the seventeenth-century portrait identified for more than a century as Lord De La Warr is almost certainly not the first governor of Virginia. That painting [1]—referred to here as the "Buckhurst Portrait"—which now has pride of place in the Jamestown Settlement, is not in the style of portraits of his contemporaries, social equals, family members, or fellow officers of the Virginia Company. Neither in size, content, pose, nor attributes does it reflect how the baron saw himself and wished to be seen. It does, however, reflect how Americans wished to see the founder of the first permanent English colony in America. Not arrayed in bright colors, fine embroidery, rich brocade, delicate starched lace, or shiny armor, as was typical of the early colonial period, its subject is depicted in simple, serviceable, and sturdy plain attire that accorded with De La Warr's reputation as a no-nonsense official who put Jamestown on a sound footing.

The Buckhurst Portrait reflects the values of the country that De La Warr is credited with having helped to establish, not those of the country from which he came. Viewed in the context of his family and contemporaries, a more plausible representation of De La Warr would likely have shown him in lace, fur, and brocade, with noble accoutrements such as a sword and helmet. Although an elegant portrayal of this type might have impressed his fellow Englishmen and Virginia investors, that was not what late-nineteenth-century Americans wished to recall of their forefathers. Like English historians of the period, they celebrated "a common Germanic origin, exceptional courage and manliness of the Saxons," of whom they assumed they were direct descendants.[3] Lord De La Warr is usually considered in the context of such rough-and-ready colonists as Captain John Smith, a self-made man of action from England's middling class. The continued representation of De La Warr as a simple man of the people without furbelows and without question suggests that Americans still wish to see their first founders in that way.

The Buckhurst Portrait, on which all nineteenth-century images of De La Warr were based, was found in the ancestral home of the West family at Buckhurst, Sussex. It bears a label painted in the lower-right corner identifying its subject and the West family motto in the upper-left [1].[4] Despite previous

[3] Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Hanover: University of New England Press, 1982), 94.

[4] The West family, the De La Warr barons, had their family seat at Wherwell, Hampshire, until the end of the seventeenth century, when the heir acquired Buckhurst. It is a working estate open to visitors, still in the possession of the De La Warr family (elevated to an earldom in the eighteenth century). In the late nineteenth century, the portrait was said by American authors to be housed at another De La Warr estate, Bourn Hall, Cambridgeshire. See Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1884), 3: 142 n. 2.

attributions, it is neither by the well-known Flemish painter Wybrand de Geest nor by the celebrated English painter Nicholas Hilliard, as is often claimed. It was painted by an unknown artist and came to light only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The provenance of the portrait is straightforward. From the time it was first identified in the 1870s, it remained at Buckhurst until it was purchased in 2000 on behalf of the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation (JYF) for the Jamestown Settlement living history museum, an agency of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It now hangs next to the portrait of Lord De La Warr's widow, Cecily [15], in a discordance of styles that goes unremarked. The acquisition of the painting was contingent upon examination by an expert to confirm that it dated from the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century. Although it was sold in a frame dating from the late nineteenth century, JYF purchased a "more appropriate parcel gilt frame" before it left England. According to the museum's senior curator, "condition reports indicate that it is an oil on oak panel constructed of three boards with vertical grain—typical of many oak panels of the period. The painting is cradled in seven mahogany glued members parallel to the grain. Six sliding oak battens across the grain direction were removed because the cradle was too rigid and probably the cause of some flaking paint. Areas of paint loss were filled by a conservator."[5] There is no documentation on why it was given a date of 1605.

The portrait has never been featured in any exhibit of Tudor or Stuart paintings on either side of the Atlantic.[6] Though it has been widely reproduced since the late nineteenth century, its authenticity has never been questioned. The copies in Virginia [2] (by William Ludwell Sheppard, 1877, Virginia State Library); Philadelphia [3] (by Margaret Thomas, 1882, Independence National Historical Park); and Delaware [5] (by William Chadwick, 1916, Old New Castle Court House)[7] are testaments to nineteenth-century interest in American history and genealogy. A similar replica painting of West, "by Margaret Thomas after Nicholas Hilliard," from Woburn Abbey, was recently sold at auction and is now in a private collection [4].

In late Elizabethan England, portraits became an important family possession. According to early modern British art historian Robert Tittler, "such portraits identified the patrons or his/her family; they established at a glance his or

[5] Personal communication to the author, Beverly A. Straube, Senior Curator, Jamestown Settlement Museum, Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, July 2024.

[6] See most recently Roy Strong, *The Stuart Image: English Portraiture 1603 to 1649* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2023).

[7] Another portrait painted in 1883, now lost, formerly hung in the Delaware governor's office. For a description, see *Proceedings of the General Assembly upon the occasion of the presentation of the portrait of Lord Delaware* (Dover: James Kirk & Sons, 1883).

her claims to family ancestry, personal achievement, political and/or religious loyalties, historical associations, habits of mind and other marks of character."[8] The size, shape, and content of the artwork, not to mention the colors, brushstrokes, and background, spoke to the patron and the audience. Artistic styles changed markedly immediately after De La Warr's death, and taste in Britain differed notably from that in America, where the solid merchant deliberately avoided artistic elements associated with depictions of the romantic gentleman.[9]

The most striking aspect of the Buckhurst portrait is the simplicity of De La Warr's attire. In his time, so important were the signifiers of clothing that "some painters…seem even to have privileged clothing over faces as descriptors of their sitter,"[10] and the clothing a person wore "was seen as a true reflection of his or her status in life."[11] Such self-conscious display was especially important for Thomas West, who complained to Lord Cecil that he could not hold up his status in London because of his poverty, and who traveled across the Atlantic with fifty halberdiers, soldiers carrying ceremonial arms for display incorporating the heraldic arms of the West family with the incised crest of griffins (head of eagle, body of lion).[12] He attended church there with furnishings of green velvet, worthy of remark back home. The Company, or the family, could have rented props and clothing for the governor's portrait, as was commonly done (and likely was done for the famous portrait of Pocahontas). The officers of the Company were keenly aware of its reputation and highly protective of it. They would have agreed with John Holles's recommendation to his son in 1615 that he dress to impress, wearing "a bullion paire of carnation velvet, and satten [hose] all embroderd over with riche embroidery of gould, silver, and silke...and a paire of carnation silk stockins."[13] At a time when even nightgowns were highly embellished with fur damask, pleating, and the like, a baron with aspirations would not fail to embrace the

[8] Robert Tittler, "Faces and Spaces: Displaying the Civic Portrait in Early Modern England," in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, eds. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 179-80.

[9] See, for example, Wendy Katz, "Early American Portraits: Private to Public, Colonial to Republic," *Gilcrease Museum Journal* 16, no. 2 (2008): 40-64, and Wendy Katz, "Portraits and the Production of the Civil Self in Seventeenth-Century Boston," *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 101-28.

[10] Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 144.

[11] Tarnya Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2008), 14.

[12] One example of these arms survives in the collections of Historic Jamestowne, Object No., 07935-JR: https://historicjamestowne.org/collections/artifacts/halberd.

[13] Quoted in Maria Hayward, *Stuart Style: Monarchy, Dress and the Scottish Male Elite* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 79.

fashionable style of slashing, multicolor embroidery, and passementerie.[14] Other aspects of the governor's portrait should also be considered. His family enjoyed full-length portraits, but the head-and-shoulders Buckhurst portrait is more modest and inexpensive. The sober colors and spare background are also more typical of provincial works than the aesthetics demanded by De La Warr's fellow noblemen during his lifetime.[15]

It is especially noteworthy that the supposed portrait of Lord De La Warr is so distinctively English in style, given that Thomas West had taken the Grand Tour and thus had ample opportunity to recognize and model the Italian styles then popular in London and around the court.[16] The Buckhurst Portrait instead modeled its sitter in the emerging portrait genre of the provincial bourgeois: those commissioned by "the middling elites (country gentry, urban professionals, and merchants)" or "civic institutions (such as schools, charitable institutions, town and city governments, and university colleges)."[17] It is this aesthetic into which the Buckhurst portrait fits rather than the courtly milieu of which Thomas West was a part. Lord De La Warr, who was at such pains to present himself in baronial splendor during his lifetime, was visually reduced by later depictions to appear as a respectable bourgeois, a member of the urban elite, not a London sophisticate.

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Before the second half of the nineteenth century, there were no known images of Virginia's first governor in America. In the aftermath of the Civil War, however, southerners reclaimed their earlier history and focused on years of success and pride. Twice in the late nineteenth century, the Commonwealth of Virginia commissioned William Ludwell Sheppard to paint portraits of "notable

[14] For a discussion of nightgown ornamentation, see Hayward, *Stuart Style*, 238.

[15] On the relative expense of portraits, see Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, 12. The personal characteristics are worthy of note. The subject is depicted cross-eyed (with strabismus), with a cast in his left eye (as it would have been described in his time), a physical ailment that would likely have drawn comment. Likewise, the red hair depicted in the Buckhurst painting would have been noteworthy.

[16] Rose, "Lord Delaware, First Governor of Virginia," 229.

[17] Robert Tittler and Anne Thackray, "Cultural Relations between London and the Provincial Towns: Portraiture and Publics in Early Modern England, in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, eds. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 126.

people with strong Virginia connections."[18] Many of these were copies of works by famous European artists. It is not known when and how Sheppard could have seen the Buckhurst Portrait of De La Warr, but his depiction of the governor clearly derives from that work. Sheppard's painting [2] nonetheless reveals an American sensibility, more puritan than patrician. In it, the governor is shown wearing a plain, short, but wide white square collar, with two ends of a light blue silk tie hanging below, and a severe black suit. He is wrapped in a plain dark robe or a warm cape. The governor is depicted with short reddish hair parted at the center and a neatly trimmed square beard. As one contemporary historian observed, "he is represented as a stout, ruddy-visaged Saxon, with a most benevolent expression of countenance."[19]

Figure [2] (left). Oil on canvas copy, by William Ludwell Sheppard (1877). Acc. No. 1878.2.1. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.
Figure [3] (right). Oil on canvas copy, by Margaret Thomas (1882). Object No. INDE 98610. Courtesy of Independence National Park, Philadelphia, Pa.

[18] Ulrich Troubetzkoy, "W. L. Sheppard: Artist of Action," *Virginia Cavalcade* 11, no. 3 (Winter 1961–62), 20-26; Troubetzkoy, "The Artwork of William Ludwell Sheppard," *Virginia Cavalcade* 42, no. 1 (Summer 1992): 20-25. See also William A. Crafts, *Pioneers in the settlement of America, from Florida in 1510 to California in 1849*, *Elegantly illustrated under the supervision of George T. Andrew, from original designs by F.O.C. Darley, Wm. L. Shepard* [sic], *Granville Perkins, etc.* (Boston: Samuel Walker and Company, 1876). A Richmond native, Sheppard also designed three Civil War monuments erected in Richmond.
[19] Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 3: 142 n. 2.

The Sheppard portrait of De La Warr does not resemble any aristocratic portraits of the era in which the baron lived. Gentlemen then were portrayed with rich lace collars, long pointed beards, and lavish embroidered coats with fur trim, as can be seen in an engraving of Sir Thomas Smythe [22], the head of the Virginia Company at the time Lord De La Warr sailed to the New World in 1610 with a commission from the Company. Noble patrons delighted to be pictured in all their finery, including the newly fashionable beaver skin hats of the type Smythe sports, something for which the merchant Sir Lionel Cranfield, another Virginia investor, spent the enormous sum of £2-17s in 1611.[20]

Figure [24] (left). Sir Edwin Sandys, by Valentine Green after unknown artist (1776). Original painting at Graythwaite Hall. NPG D4173. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure [22] (right). Sir Thomas Smythe, by Simon van de Passe (1882). NPG D26047. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Even in an earlier portrait, now at the Skinners' Hall, Smythe, a "mere merchant," sports an embroidered leather jerkin and two swords with his simple lace-trimmed collar [23]. Similar attention to dress can be seen in the portraits of other leaders of the Virginia Company, such as Sir Edwin Sandys [24] and the Earl of Southampton [25], who succeeded Smythe in office. Even Pocahontas, married to a commoner, was famously portrayed in 1616 with a fine beaver hat, but Baron

[20] A. P. Newton, ed., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Major-General Lord Sackville, Preserved at Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent. Volume 1: Cranfield Papers 1551–1612* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1940), 255.

De La Warr is always pictured bareheaded.[21] Jacobean gentlemen did not wear slim blue ties around their necks, but elaborate silk lace or linen ruffs with lace trim.[22] The artistic conventions of portraits during De La Warr's time included beautiful hands, costly gloves, and objects related to the stature and interests of the sitter, none of which appear in the Buckhurst Portrait or Sheppard's derivative.

Shortly after Sheppard's painting went on display, the British ambassador to the United States at that time, Lionel Sackville-West, a younger brother of the contemporary Earl De La Warr, toured Philadelphia's Independence State Park in 1881. Noting the absence of his ancestor's likeness from the park's "Gallery of Famous Colonial Persons," upon returning home, he commissioned a reproduction [3] of the Buckhurst Portrait and then later presented it to the Gallery.[23] A native of Delaware, Benjamin Comegys, who observed the presentation, then decided to commission a copy of the copy for his brother, Delaware's Chief Justice, to present to the Delaware Assembly.[24] This copy, a photograph "finished in crayon," was lost. However, in 1916, John Bancroft presented the State with yet another portrait of De La Warr, one made by his son-in-law, William Chadwick of Connecticut [5].[25] For his oil painting, Chadwick relied on photographs of the Buckhurst Portrait as well as the copies in Virginia and Philadelphia, and an engraving supposedly in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, apparently after the Sheppard commission.[26] Chadwick's colored portrait of Lord De La

[21] For an analysis of Pocahontas *chic*, see Kathryn N. Gray and Amy E. Morris, eds., *Matoaka, Pocahontas, Rebecca: Her Atlantic Identities and Afterlives* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2024).

[22] See examples in Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* (London: Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, in association with Routledge & K. Paul, 1969).

[23] Doris Devine Fanelli and Karie Diethorn, eds., *History of the Portrait Collection, Independence National Historical Park* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001), 327. Portrait [4] was presumably also commissioned by Sackville-West at this time.

[24] This copy cannot be located. Benjamin Comegys's Victorian library, c. 1880, was displayed in 1965 in the Smithsonian's "Hall of Everyday Life in the American Past" in the new Museum of History and Technology. See William S. Walker, "A Living Exhibition: The Smithsonian, Folklife, and the Making of the Modern" (Ph.D diss., Brandeis University, 2007), 82-83.

[25] *The News Journal*, Wilmington, January 27, 1917, p. 9: "The State of Delaware's picture collection recently was enriched by a very valuable gift a portrait of Thomas West, twelfth Baron de la Warr, for whom we were named presented through the State Portrait Commission by John Bancroft. It is one of the best portraits, artistically speaking, that the State owns, and historically it has great significance." The photograph portrait of 1883 is not mentioned in the files of the Delaware State Portrait Collection and may have been replaced by the Chadwick oil painting. Personal communication to the author, Kira Lyle, Collections Manager, Delaware Department of Historical and Cultural Affairs, July 2024.

[26] Personal communication to the author, Ann Baker Horsey, Curator of Collections, Historical and Cultural Affairs, State of Delaware, May 2016.

Warr, now admired by visitors to the old courthouse in New Castle, Delaware, run by the National Parks Service, is thus a painting inspired by a monochrome engraving of a colored copy of a seventeenth-century oil painting that none of the artists knew in the original. An x-ray of the painting reveals that Chadwick's subject originally sported a large wing collar typical of Puritan and theatrical dress of the 1630s and 1640s (now painted over).[27] According to a contemporary newspaper article, a curator suggested that the governor be depicted "in armor instead of robes, so as to be more in harmony" with pictorial conventions of the early part of the seventeenth century.[28] Another description in the museum's file notes that this painting is copied from a painting in Philadelphia, copied from one in Virginia, which was copied from the one in Sussex. It says the baron is depicted "with short dark hair, armor-plated uniform, and full white scarf attached at the neck." That style of lace cravat only came into fashion in the decades after De La Warr's death.

Figure [5]. Sir Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, William Chadwick (1916). Acc. No. 1976.172. Old New Castle Court House, Delaware.

[27] Personal communication to the author, Elizabeth Coulter, Curator of Collections, Delaware Historical & Cultural Affairs, June 2023.
[28] *The News Journal*, Wilmington, January 27, 1917, p. 9.

Around the time Sackville-West commissioned the Buckhurst Portrait's reproduction, an engraving of the work was cut. It was reported that this was the first time an engraving had been made of the governor.[29] The likeness was published in the *Magazine of American History* [6] and reproduced in Alexander Brown's popular *Genesis of American History*. It depicts a man with even shorter, neater hair, a shorter, neater beard that reveals a lot of chin, and no collar, but a thin, neat, plain neck kerchief (or scarf) with a visible knot that ends in a plain white (apparently cotton) jabot: it portrays a man more bourgeois than baron. The man has far more face than beard, a trim mustache, and a rounded beard quite unlike the long, pointed ones typical of Jacobean gentlemen. His hair is short enough to reveal an ear, and he has a cowlick on top and a part on the left side. A flip through the pages of *Genesis* shows how different this depiction of Baron De La Warr is from other illustrations of men of his class. He looks far more like plain-spoken Captain John Smith [21] than any peer of the realm.[30]

Figure [6]. "Lord De La Warr, Founder of Virginia," H.B. Hall, in *Magazine of American History* 9, no. 1 (January 1883).

[29] Alexander Brown, "Sir Thomas West, Third Lord De La Warr, *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries* 9 (1883): 61, quoting from personal communication of Lionel Sackville-West, June 28, 1882: "It was painted by Hilliard, and I am not aware that it has ever been engraved, and as far as we know no engraving of Thomas West exists. Our engraving follows the original with care, and may be depended upon as correct."

[30] Captain John Smith is opposite Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (Cambridge: The Riverside Company, 1890, 2: 890. However, many of the other pictures Brown reproduces are from the later seventeenth century and reflect much later styles in fashion and art.

The original Buckhurst Portrait finally came to America in 1929 when it was featured as a highlight of the important exhibition sponsored by the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond that year.[31] While on loan, the colored oil was copied in black and white for Alexander W. Weddell's massive *Virginia Historical Portraiture* [7].

THOMAS WEST, *Third Lord de la Warr*
From the Original Portrait by Wybrandt De Geest, now in the possession of The Earl De La Warr, London, England.
Panel measures 22¾ x 17½ inches.

Figure [7]. Thomas West, Third Lord De La Warr, in Alexander W. Weddell, *A Memorial Volume of Virginia Historical Portraiture, 1585–1830* (Richmond, The William Byrd Press, 1930), opposite p. 76.

[31] See "Early Virginia History to Live Again in Art Exhibit at Richmond," *Arizona Republic* (April 23, 1929), 2: "A fine portrait of the third Lord De La Warr is being lent by the present earl." E. G. Swem gives a lengthy background on the exhibition and the participants in his review of Weddell in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 39, no. 1 (1931): 90-96.

Weddell's monochrome copy featured in the Jamestown anniversary booklets published in 1957 to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment of Jamestown, England's first permanent transatlantic settlement. Weddell's copy was widely reproduced thereafter, and for convenience, it is still reproduced by many publishers rather than the original from which it was copied.[32] In the copy, the governor is pictured with even less beard (it doesn't cover his white neckpiece, which seems to be more of a shirt over which he sports a cape tied with a rosette). Although the souvenir of the exhibition of 1957 relied on the print from Weddell, the Buckhurst Portrait was displayed in Wilmington, Delaware, and hung in Winterthur until February 1957, on loan from the Earl De La Warr of that period.[33]

Throughout the twentieth century, these were the images of De La Warr presented to Americans and widely reproduced: Sheppard's Virginia commission of 1877 in color, the monochrome engravings after the Buckhurst Portrait, or that by Weddell—all are still replicated today. Indeed, a current lesson plan from the Library of Virginia intended to meet state standards for History and English education reproduces the Sheppard copy (with the anachronistic "blue string tie," more like a ribbon than a neckband) and instructs students to: "Look at the image of Thomas West. Based on your observations, what can you infer about his status and position within English society?"[34] No guidance is offered on the appropriate answer. But the status and position of Baron De La Warr is certainly *not* reflected in this supposed depiction of the first governor, just as the curator had pointed out in 1916.

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Governor De la Warr's depictions stand in marked contrast to the portraits of other of his family members: his two grandfathers, his aunts, his father and mother, his widow, his son and his son's wife. The governor's paternal

[32] The engraving is still reproduced in historical texts regularly, see, for example, Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600–1675* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 66, which attributes the portrait to Wybrandt de Geest, reproduced with the kind permission from the Earl De La Warr and photo courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. It is a remarkably dark photograph of the Buckhurst painting, decades old, with its old attribution passed down by the family. At the time of publication, the "original" had been hanging on public display in Jamestown for more than a decade.

[33] *Wilmington Morning News*, October 8, 1956, 15.

[34] "Portrait of Thomas West, Baron De La Warr," Document Bank of Virginia (DBVa). The DBVa is "the Library of Virginia's initiative to get documents into classrooms," https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/items/show/58.

grandfather, William West (c. 1520–1595), the first baron De La Warr, is pictured in the elegant "Portrait of a Gentleman, probably of the West Family 1545–60" which now hangs in the Tate Gallery in London [9]. The Tate website indexes the belt, cloak, codpiece, glove, hat, and jewelry included in the portrait.[35] A man long thought to be his son Thomas West (d. 1602), the second earl, appears in a painting at the National Portrait Gallery with lace ruff, finely-worked gold collar, fashionable slashed sleeves, elaborate cuffs, sword handle, belt and leather glove [10].[36] The subject is now known to be Anthony Browne, first viscount Montagu (d. 1592), but that the portrait was long believed by the West family to have been their patriarch suggests how his near contemporaries thought he looked. The second earl's wife, Anne Knollys (d. 1608), was painted by Robert Peake in 1582 when she was about twenty-seven [14]. She, too, is portrayed in an elaborate Tudor ruff and boasts balloon sleeves and pearl necklaces. Her father, the governor's maternal grandfather, Sir Francis Knollys (d. 1596), was painted in 1586 [11]. His portrait still hangs at his home of Greys Court near Reading (now a National Trust property), on the back stairs of the house along with a portrait of his son and namesake, who was a member of parliament. All these were painted in a late Tudor, early Jacobean portrait style that went out of fashion just before 1620.

Figure [14]. Anne Knollys (1582), Robert Peake the Elder. Object No. TL-17023. Berger Collection Educational Trust, Denver Art Museum.

[35] For a full technical analysis, Natasha Walker, Karen Hearn and Joyce H. Townsend, "Tate's Painting of a Man in Tudor Costume: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait or a Nineteenth-Century Pastiche?," *Tate Papers* no. 20 (Autumn 2013).

[36] For example, as of July 2024, it is still used to illustrate the Wikipedia article on Thomas West: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_West,_2nd_Baron_De_La_Warr.

Figure [11] (left). Sir Francis Knollys the elder, Lord Treasurer of the Household (1583). NT 196014. The National Trust, Greys Court, Oxfordshire, The Brunner Collection.
Figure [12] (right). Lettice Knollys (c. 1595), George Gower. Longleat House, Collection of the Marquess of Bath.

Figure [15] (left). Lady De La Warr (c. 1630s), Circle of Cornelius Johnson. Acc. No. JYF2005.54. Jamestown Settlement, Va. Courtesy of Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.
Figure [16] (right). Henry 4th Lord De La Warr (1627), Wybrand Simonsz De Geest the Elder. Sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1995 (Sale 6654), Lot 87, Private collection. Courtesy of Sotheby's.

Thomas West came from an especially sartorially conscious family. His aunts, Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex and of Leicester [12], and Elizabeth Knollys, Lady Leighton, are considered representative of the late Tudor obsession with adornment, known for their magnificent jewelry and sumptuous dress. A bust-length portrait depicts Lettie Knollys in a black doublet, lace ruff, and pearl-decorated cap [12A], while a miniature jeweled portrait believed to be her likeness shows a woman with "her tightly curled fair hair adorned with a diadem, wearing a white dress richly embroidered in silver and gold, deep lace ruff and jeweled chains" [12B]. Lady Leighton's portrait of 1577 shows elaborate concern with lace, feathers, brocades, and jewels [13]. Lady Leighton had a special interest in clothes and accessories "as she was almost certainly the person who had day-to-day care of Elizabeth I's fabulous wardrobe."[37] Modern collectors well understand that "the definitive status symbol for Elizabethans and Jacobeans of influence was the portrait. Likenesses featuring rich robes, plus the paraphernalia of piety or dashing pursuits, painted a thousand words about the sitter's wealth and status."[38] Thomas West's surviving portrait reveals none of this.

With the accession of Charles I in 1625, a new look came into fashion, exemplified by the elegant portraits of Anthony van Dyck. The governor's widow, Cecily, is depicted draped in pearls and wearing pearl earrings and huge cuffs in a portrait by Cornelius Johnson (or someone in his circle), now in Virginia [15]. She is shown wearing such a large and elaborate ruff that her head seems to be floating in clouds. Her son, Henry, who inherited the De La Warr lands and title, was also painted in the latest fashion without any accompanying heraldic arms or motto [16]. The young man is shown wearing armor, a sash, and a large, stylish, flat collar. Henry died young, and his widow, Isabella, the daughter of Sir Thomas Edmunds, was painted by Anthony van Dyck as a full-length standing figure in a white satin gown trimmed with a profusion of lace and enhanced with a jeweled belt, large brooch, pearl earrings, and pearl necklace [17]. None of these elegant and luxurious portraits with elaborate fabric and embellishment accord with the painting said to portray the first governor of Virginia.

The Buckhurst Portrait is remarkably unlike pictures of his family members, and it is a far cry from those of other gentlemen and aristocrats involved in the settlement of America. The portrait pales in comparison with portraits of two of his underlings in Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale [18] and Sir Thomas Gates [19], depictions which likewise are widely reproduced but have received little scholarly attention. The full-length paintings of these military captains (one now in Virginia, one in Bermuda) appear to have been part of a series made c. 1615 for Sir Horace de Vere to commemorate their army service in the Low Countries; they

[37] Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, 16.
[38] Katrina Burroughs, "Tudor and Stuart Portraits," *Financial Times*, June 25, 2011.

were dispersed at a sale in 1904.[39] Both soldiers are shown as elegant men of taste and fashion with the accoutrements of their profession. Gates is dressed in armor, white leather boots and stockings, a lace collar, matching lace cuffs, and a sash. Hand on a feathered helmet, and foot on the edge of an oriental carpet draped over a table, Gates sports a neatly trimmed pointed beard. Dale likewise has the same pose, with a similarly pointed beard as well as a mustache, lace collar, black hose, large rosette buckles on his shoes, and a sword. Bareheaded, he holds a tall black hat with an especially finely-worked hatband. Hand on a table covered in costly red fabrics, Dale stands in front of a luxurious thick red velvet curtain, probably a standard prop of the artist's workshop. These paintings were evidently commissioned from the workshop of Jan Anthonisz van Ravesteyn either by the English captains themselves or by their commander in The Hague.

Figure [18] (left). Sir Thomas Dale (c. 1615), Marcus Geerarts. Acc. No. 52.8. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.
Figure [19] (right). Sir Thomas Gates (c. 1615). Bermuda Archives, at The Bermuda National Trust. Previously hung in The Cabinet Office of Bermuda, Hamilton.

[39] Edward Town, "The Vere Captains at Raynham Hall," *Art & the Country House* (2020), https://doi.org/10.17658/ACH/RNE572.

Although now believed to commemorate the participation of English army captains in the siege of Jülich (1610–1614), these portraits must have been commissioned in relation to a different occasion.[40] The identities of the sitters were added in yellow ochre in the late seventeenth century.[41] These military gentlemen show a nice leg and polished leather boots. Someone must have used a goffering iron to crimp and frill their lace—the kind of goffering irons excavated in Jamestown from this period (of which five have been found so far).[42] De La Warr's hand-picked replacement, George Percy, the eighth son of the Earl of Northumberland, had requested that starch be sent to the colony, which allowed ruffs to be stiffened and extended far beyond the neck.[43] We know that starch was present in the colony because it was boiled and eaten as gruel during the winter Starving Time (1609–10) just before De La Warr's arrival. The nineteenth-century depictions of De La Warr do not suggest any use of starch. Even in the outback of America, serious attention was paid to elegant attire and its proper care and presentation. In the list of expenses "to furnish and transport six men to Virginia" in 1623, in addition to expenditures on food, apparel, tools, and arms, the organizer calculated for himself one pound for a hat and band, 13 s-4p for garters and ribboning, and one pound for a ruff.[44]

Sir Thomas Gates is also shown wearing an elaborate sash—the kind of sash of office that was worn by De La Warr's nephew, Captain William West, in 1611 when he was buried in the Jamestown church.[45] Although West's body has dematerialized, archeologists retrieved silver threads from the fringed sash that covered his ribcage. The men of the governor's entourage were equipped with the bright scarlet livery of his family's colors and carried elaborately chased halberds

[40] Gates did not participate in the siege of Jülich. He sailed for Virginia in June 1609 and was shipwrecked for a year on Bermuda. He eventually made it to the mainland and served as governor of Jamestown for a month until De La Warr arrived in June 1610 and took control of the colony. Gates remained in Virginia until 1616, with one brief trip back to England to rally support for the colony. He left Virginia to fight in the Netherlands in 1621, where he died the following year.

[41] Town, "The Vere Captains."

[42] Excavations at Jamestown have revealed goffering irons to crimp ruffs: https://historicjamestowne.org/collections/artifacts/goffering-iron.

[43] John W. Shirley, "George Percy at Jamestown 1607–12," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 57, no. 3 (1949), 227-43. At p. 235, the accounts of the earl show that he spent more on starch for his younger brother than on ink and wax combined.

[44] "A proportion of the Charge to furnishe and transport six men to Virginia," 1623?, CO 1/2, fol. 254r, The National Archives, Kew, UK.

[45] Excavation of West's grave unearthed the captain's silk sash with silver spangles: https://historicjamestowne.org/collections/artifacts/captains-sash.

depicting griffins, the West family heraldic symbol.[46] Among the early-seventeenth-century artifacts discovered in the vicinity of Jamestown are gilded spurs, cutlery inlaid with gold and silver, and pieces of elaborate armor.[47] In addition to glass and pearl beads, pewter badges, and jewelry, archeologists have also found silver doublet buttons and metal aglets for the tips of fine laces. These were the kinds of accoutrements that the elite colonists brought to Jamestown, and they were among the personal possessions one expected to see on display in contemporary formal portraits.[48]

Attention to luxury apparel was not limited to the upper echelons of Jamestown society. When Lord De La Warr triumphantly arrived and ordered a clean-up of the settlement, a well was filled with detritus, including the decorative part of an obsolete firearm. Carved and incised on bone, it featured an image of a gentleman soldier with a ruff, a slashed doublet, Venetian breeches, a hat with a large feather, and holding a sword in his right hand [26]. De La Warr's family was acutely cognizant of such finely worked luxury goods. The governor's mother-in-law bequeathed to his widow a number of costly items, including an "ebony bedstead with the tester, valance, curtains, quilt, chair, and stool thereunto belonging or therewithal used, and also two Persian carpets, with two window carpets and my largest carpet of Turkey work, a silver casting-bottle and a gilt trencher-salt." To her grandson, the governor's heir, among other possessions she left him "six of my high stools of silk needlework, two low stools of silk needlework, my chair of silk needlework, and five of my chairs of crewel needlework, my right Persian carpet." To her granddaughters she bequeathed silver gilt spoons, a silver porringer, needlework carpets, many fine linens (described in detail), including "my carpet of needlework of gillyflowers and woodbines, my Turkey carpet of cucumbers, and a piece of fine Holland to be taken out of my chest to make his Lordship shirts withal."[49]

The sole near-contemporary depiction of Baron De La Warr, a polychrome wax portrait said to be by the renowned French sculptor Guillaume Dupré (d. 1643), is now in the Delaware Historical Society [8]. Like the Buckhurst Portrait,

[46] One of these halberds was unearthed during the excavations at Jamestown: https://historicjamestowne.org/collections/artifacts/halberd.

[47] Ivor Noël Hume, *Discoveries in Martin's Hundred* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1983), 31. Additional items for personal adornment deposited 1610 have recently been excavated and put on display at Jamestown: https://historicjamestowne.org/collections/artifacts/category/dress-personal.

[48] R. Langton Douglas, "Some Portraits of Ceremony of the Jacobean School," *The Connoisseur* 126, no. 519 (January 1951), 162-66.

[49] Quotations in this paragraph from the will of Anne Shirley (née Kempe) TNA PROB 11/141/330, fol. 271r, transcription by Nina Green (2009) in normalized orthography on *The Oxford Authorship Site*, http://oxford-shakespeare.com.

it bears a label identifying the presumed subject and the artist. But this waxwork is not likely to have been created during the baron's lifetime, nor by Dupré.[50] Named Sculptor to the King of France in 1611, Dupré is not known to have traveled to England nor to have depicted any other English subject. In the 1610s, he was working in Mantua, Florence, Venice, and Savoy, as well as in Paris. The facial hair (mustache and small, pointed beard) and the costume (Van Dyck lace collar) of the sitter reflect the tastes of the later seventeenth century, not of Jacobean England.

Figure [8]. Lord De La Warr Wax Portrait (c. 1610), attributed to Guillaume Dupré. Object Id. 1973.003.002. Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, Del.

The wax image may, however, be intended as a representation of De La Warr by an artist of the following century. One of the great modelers of the early eighteenth century, for example, Isaac Gosset, was known for making wax portraits of "people of quality and learned men." Merchants from Virginia came to

[50] It is not listed in the impressive catalogue of 68 of Guillaume Dupré's works in American collections, for which see Laure de Margerie's project, *The French Sculpture Census*, https://frenchsculpture.org.

London to acquire such portraits and present them as gifts, especially images of subjects thought to embody a commitment to civil and religious liberties.[51] This wax likeness, however, did not appeal to the later American aesthetic and was never reproduced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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The Jamestown Settlement of the Commonwealth of Virginia's Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation now features, in its galleries and online, the framed oil painting on panel of the third baron De La Warr from Buckhurst that is said to be a contemporary representation [1]. On exhibit since its purchase in 2000, this is the original "Buckhurst Portrait" on which the earlier oil paintings are based.[52] It is captioned, "Done by an unknown English artist on an oak panel, the painting dates to about 1605 and was altered sometime later." Other than having an added inscription, it is unclear in what way the portrait was altered or enhanced.

There is little to suggest that this is a portrait from 1605 when Lord De La Warr, the supposed subject, would have been about twenty-seven years old and recently come into the barony.[53] It is not in the style of Tudor-Jacobean aristocratic portraits. It does not accord with the paintings of De La Warr's family, nor is it documented in the early seventeenth century. Having left Oxford without a degree, Thomas West, along with many others, was awarded an M.A. when the King visited the university in late August 1605. The added date may be an attempt to account for the dark robe or gown in which the sitter is enveloped. The painting is not mentioned as having been at Wherwell, Hampshire, the family seat until 1695. It is not documented whatsoever prior to 1877. The portrait is more representative of the myth than of the man. It accords well with American political values of the nineteenth century and the plain ways Americans wanted to see themselves, rather than with the sophisticated, luxurious, and hierarchical aesthetic embraced by English nobles in the early Jacobean era.

The third baron, De La Warr, cared deeply about his image at court, once complaining to Cecil, Lord Salisbury, that he was "spoiled of all means to

[51] Ingrid Roscoe, Emma Hardy, and M.G. Sullivan, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660–1851* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre, 2009), s.v. "Gosset."

[52] "The portrait was acquired with part of a gift from the Gladys and Franklin Clark Foundation for the development and care of the collection of Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, the state agency that administers Jamestown Settlement": https://www.dailypress.com/2001/06/14/area-briefs-1445.

[53] No one knows how the date of 1605 came to be attached to the portrait. Personal communication to the author, Thomas Davidson, Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, June 2016.

maintain the honour of nobility, so that he can neither give attendance at Court nor hold fashion with men of his own rank."[54] For the Virginia Company as well, the public expression of the baron's supposed wealth was an important element in establishing his credibility. The Company insisted in printed advertisements that neither his "honour nor fortune needs not any desperate medicine."[55] It is therefore almost inconceivable that De La Warr would not have been depicted without an appropriate device or coat-of-arms, garbed in obviously deluxe textiles, and accompanied by some conventional signs of authority. Indeed, even today at the Jamestown Settlement, modern re-enactments of Lord De la Warr's arrival in Virginia [27] portray him wearing a hat, white ruff, and fashionable slashed sleeves, rather than the simple garb of his supposed portrait hanging nearby. There is much circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Buckhurst Portrait was a work confected in the nineteenth century if not created then.

The De La Warr Buckhurst portrait did not surface when the chairman of the Virginia Historical Society, Conway Robinson, traveled to England in 1854 and commissioned copies of portraits of the early governors of Virginia. It was because of Robinson's initiative that a copy of the portrait of George Percy, first president of the Council, son of the earl of Northumberland, and acting governor for a brief period on De La Warr's sudden departure in 1611, came to Virginia.[56] The original [20] from which that copy was made remains at Syon House, the London home of the Earls of Northumberland since the sixteenth century, and is not known to have been exhibited or ever previously reproduced.[57] The picture of Percy shows a young beardless man with a mustache, wrapped in a lush red velvet cape over a billowing white shirt with a full lace piccadill neckpiece (a broad lace cutwork collar) at his throat.

[54] Lord De La Warre to Viscount Cranborne, December 12, 1604, in M. S. Giuseppi, ed., *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House: Volume 16, 1604* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933), 379.

[55] [Virginia Company of London], *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the plantation begun in Virginia* (London: I. Stepneth, 1610), 21. Further bibliographic details for this work can be found in the English Short Title Catalogue, where it is known as ESTC S106908. Lord De La Warr was among those who submitted the publication to the Stationers on December 14, 1609.

[56] Personal communication to the author, Elizabeth Klaczynski, Virginia Museum of History and Culture, July 2024.

[57] Personal communication to the author, Sheree Bellingham, Syon Park, August 2024. The painting is first mentioned in an inventory of 1847 when it was attributed either to John de Critz (d. 1642) or Frederic Zucchero (d. 1609); its earlier provenance is unrecorded. The copy painted by Herbert Ludlow Smith, now widely reproduced, was first put on display in Virginia in 2007. Personal communication to the author, Elizabeth Klaczynski, Virginia Museum of History and Culture, July 2024.

Figure [20]. Captain George Percy, 1580-1632 (1615), attributed to John de Critz. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Syon House, London.

Nor did the Buckhurst portrait of De La Warr come to light during the great series of Victorian exhibitions featuring portraits of figures in British history.[58] In 1868, the final installment of this series of exhibitions included some paintings which had been overlooked earlier. This exhibit included the portrait supposedly

[58] Samuel Redgrave, *Catalogue of the third and concluding exhibition of national portraits commencing with the fortieth year of the reign of George the Third and ending with the year MDCCCLXVII. On loan to the South Kensington museum. April 13, 1868* (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1868). It was lent by Countess De La Warr to the National Portrait Exhibition, London, 1868 (no. 705). The national portrait exhibition also featured portraits of Thomas West's aunt Lettice Knollys (no. 683) and the portrait at the time thought to be of William West, the governor's father, attributed to Holbein (no. 629), lent by another MP.

of the governor's father and the Van Dyck portrait of Governor De La Warr's daughter-in-law, a full-length painting that hung at Buckhurst and is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. That portrait of Isabella, Lady De La Warr, was exhibited in 1844, 1857, and, 1887, as well as, and 1868; it left De La Warr family ownership shortly after 1877.[59]

The Buckhurst portrait of Thomas West first came to light on the occasion of Shepherd's trip to England. As noted, the painting includes a cartouche at the lower right-hand corner of the work that identifies the subject as "Tho. L^{d} De Lawarr/Governer & Cap^{t}/Generall in Virginia." It was not unusual, however, for biographical information to be "added later, often after death, by other parties,"[60] as with the Percy portrait. The cartouche on the governor's portrait is similar in style to the cartouche on the Isabella portrait on the lower left-hand side and could have been "pirated" from that.[61]

The inscription in the upper left-hand corner of the Buckhurst portrait is difficult to decipher and is absent in most of the copies. It says, "Jour de ma vie," the motto used by the first baron De La Warr (d. 1554) to commemorate his ancestor's capture of the king of France at the battle of Poitiers. It remains the motto of the De la Warr family today and was included in many nineteenth-century books of heraldry, but it is not evident that the motto was embraced in the seventeenth century by the governor's family, the De La Warr barons of the second creation (which is why Thomas West is described as the third baron or the twelfth baron). It is noteworthy that the portrait includes only the family motto and not any heraldic crest; the reverse would have been more common. The motto does not appear in portraits of Thomas West's grandfather nor in that of his son.

Considering their social status, one might well expect that Percy and West would have been depicted in similar guise. Each came to the early Virginia settlement from an English aristocratic family and served as governor before returning home to Britain.[62] The similar size and comparable artistic quality of the two portraits would, at first glance, lead us to expect that they were made for the same segment of the market. Percy's lace and velvet, however, stand in stark contrast to De La Warr's plain and practical cloak. In the early seventeenth century, luxurious fabrics and stylish dress signaled the high social status of the

[59] Provenance information from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/32373.

[60] Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 142.

[61] Personal communication to the author, Barry Tsirelson, who has made a study of the portraits of the Vere captains, June 2024.

[62] This paragraph benefits from observations made by one of the anonymous readers for *The New American Antiquarian*.

sitters. Yet such features are conspicuously absent from the De La Warr portrait. Like the Buckhurst Portrait said to represent De La Warr, the portrait of Percy was only recorded in the mid-nineteenth century and copied soon after. Both reflected interest among historically minded Americans to acquire images of the founding fathers. On their part, members of English aristocratic families derived some prestige by providing copies of images of their noble forbears to hang in American collections.

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One can have little confidence today of De La Warr's likeness or how he and his family wished him to be depicted and remembered. The copies of copies of copies exhibited around the United States tell us much more about the values and preferences of their makers than those likely to have been of concern to Baron De La Warr and his contemporaries. The painting said to be of Lord De La Warr shows a man with a wide, neatly trimmed beard and double blue kerchief who resembles a substantial seaman or minister rather than a Jacobean aristocrat. It is striking that the likeness has been, and is, widely reproduced without a single previous comment as to the improbability that it represents an English baron painted before Jamestown was established in 1607. This suggests that even today, Americans cling to a notion of democratic origins at odds with the reality of the early settlement: Thomas West was chosen governor for his noble birth, not his unproven ability. The frequently reproduced prints based on copies of the Buckhurst Portrait obscure that simple fact.

American institutions authenticate, reproduce, and replicate this image in the same way that they market jewelry supposedly owned by Pocahontas and passed down to descendants of her husband in England: they appropriate a tradition created long after the fact. The history of these paintings is a history of America as much as it is a history of the British Empire; the artwork is a primary source for the nineteenth, not the seventeenth century; for the New World, not the Old.

Appendix: Catalogue of Artworks

Governor Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr (1577–1618)

1. Original "Buckhurst Portrait" of Thomas West, Baron De La Warr
(attributed date c. 1605), often attributed to Nicholas Hilliard or Wybrand de Geest.
Jamestown Settlement, Va. Formerly at Buckhurst Park, Sussex.
Oil on wood panel.
Reference: Acc. No. JYF2000.2.
Credit: Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.

Copy Portraits of Thomas West

2. Oil on canvas copy (1877), William Ludwell Sheppard.
Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.
Commissioned by the Commonwealth of Virginia.
Reference: Acc. No. 1878.2.1.
Credit: Courtesy of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

3. Oil on canvas copy (1882), Margaret Thomas.
Philadelphia, Independence National Historical Park
Reference: Object No. INDE 98610.
Presented by British ambassador Lionel Sackville-West to Independence National Historical Park in 1883.
Described and reproduced in: Doris Devine Fanelli and Karie Diethorn, eds., *History of the Portrait Collection, Independence National Historical Park* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001), 327.
Credit: Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park.

4. A (second?) oil on canvas portrait (1882), Margaret Thomas.
"After Nicholas Hilliard."
From the ducal collection, Woburn Abbey, Bedford.
Sold at Christie's London, 20 September 2004, sale 7013, lot 557.
Catalog record with reproduction:
https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-4345894

5. Sir Thomas West, Lord De La Warr (1916), William Chadwick.
Old New Castle Court House, Delaware (National Parks Service).
Reference: Acc. No. 1976.172
Back of canvas note: "Painted from photograph of original portrait owned by Earl Delaware, from the copy at Independence Hall."
Credit: Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs.

6. Engraving (1883), H.B. Hall.
Magazine of American History 9, no. 1 (1883), frontispiece.
Described in Charles Knowles Brown, *The Founders: Portraits of Persons Born Abroad*…(Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1919), 2: 619: "H.B. Hall & Sons engraved a portrait of the original painting by Nicholas Hilliard, at the seat of Earl De la Warr, Buckhurst, County Sussex…the face is very benevolent, but rather modern in expression. The neckcloth is knotted under the short beard and the ends are concealed by a robe."
Reproduced in: Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (Cambridge: The Riverside Company, 1890), 2: after p. 1010. "From Hall's engraving of a photograph of the original painting by Hilliard…at Buckhurst Park," 1: xxxvi.

7. Engraving (1930), Alexander W. Weddell.
A Memorial Volume of Virginia Historical Portraiture, 1585–1830 (Richmond, The William Byrd Press, 1930), opposite p. 76.
Reprinted in Wesley Frank Craven, *The Virginia Company of London, 1606–1624*, ed. E.G. Swem (Williamsburg: Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet No. 5, 1957), after p. 28.

8. Lord De La Warr Wax Portrait (c. 1610), attributed to Guillaume Dupré.
Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, Del.
Reference: Object Id. 1973.003.002.
Description in catalog: "The 3 ½" x 2 ¼" high relief wax image depicts a bust view of a man facing right. The subject has curly hair and a short beard and mustache and wears an elaborate lace collar with Van Dyke points. The portrait has an overall brown tint and is mounted onto a greenish glass background. It is contained within a shadowbox frame with a mahogany veneer and gold beaded inner frame. There is a ½" diameter hanging ring at the top and an old hand-written label on the back: "Lord de la Warr / Governor of / Virginia 1609. Made in France? By Guillaume Dupré (1574–1643)."
Catalog record with reproduction:
https://dehistory.pastperfectonline.com/Webobject/D67B98E2-26B8-4D84-8FB0-568765631777.

Family Portraits

9. Portrait of William, First Lord De La Warr (c. 1550).
Paternal Grandfather: William West, 1st Baron De La Warr (c.1530–1595).
Initially attributed to Hans Holbein when first noticed 1868.
Oil on wood.
Reference: Acc. No. 4252.
Tate Britain, London.
Reproduced by Tate Images:
https://tate-images.com/preview.asp?item=N04252.

10. Portrait once thought to be Thomas West (1569).
Father: Thomas West, 2nd Baron De La Warr (c. 1550–1602).
Oil on panel, 1569.
Reference: NPG 842.
Reproduced by the National Portrait Gallery:
https://npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04479.
National Portrait Gallery, London.
This portrait was long identified as Thomas West, second Baron De La Warr, the father of three governors of Virginia, and is still widely reproduced as such. The painting was purchased by the National Portrait Gallery in 1890 as a portrait of "William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke," although now the date, authorship and subject matter have been revised: it is now identified as a portrait of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montagu, painted by Hans Eworth in 1569. The long-held misattribution suggests how art historians, as well as the West family, expected the West patriarch to present himself.

11. Sir Francis Knollys the elder, Lord Treasurer of the Household (1583).
Maternal Grandfather: Sir Francis Knollys (1514–1596).
Oil on panel.
Reference: NT 196014.
Reproduced by The National Trust:
https://nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/196014.
The National Trust, Greys Court, Oxfordshire, The Brunner Collection.
Catalog Description: Inscribed at the top right corner "Ao. AETIS. 72" in gold. A half-length portrait of a man with head turned to the left wearing a black coat with chain of office from which a St George [cross] hangs, with a staff in his right hand. Black crowned hat with ear flaps and ties, white ruff and grey beard. In top left corner a belt and buckle shield enclosing an elephant in profile on a helmet and the legend "Honi soit qui mal y pense" ["Shamed be he who thinks evil of it," the motto of the British chivalric Order of the Garter]. Knollys was Lord Treasurer of the Household, 1572–96. Dark wood gilt and black feathered painted frame with rectangular design and leaf and vine design on outside.

12. Lettice Knollys (c. 1595), George Gower.
Aunt: Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex and of Leicester (1543–1634)
Longleat House, Collection of the Marquess of Bath.
Reproduced on Wikipedia:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0e/Lettice_Knollys1.jpg

12A. Portrait of Lettice Knollys, (c. 1600), Circle of George Gower.
Bust length, in a black doublet, lace ruff and pearl-decorated cap.
Sold at London, Sotheby's 4 February 2020, Lot 600.
Catalog record with reproduction:
https://sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2020/old-masters-online/circle-of-george-gower-portrait-of-lettice-knollys.

12B. Portrait of a Noblewoman, possibly Lettice Knollys (c. 1580s), Nicholas Hilliard.
Sold at London, Sotheby's 14 July, 2010, Lot 2.
Catalog record with reproduction:
https://sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/an-exceptional-eye-a-private-british-collection-l10041/lot.2.html.

13. Elizabeth Knollys (1577), George Gower.
Aunt: Elizabeth Knollys, Lady Leighton (1549–c. 1605).
Reference: NT 597954.
The National Trust, Montacute House, Somerset, The Malcolm Stewart Bequest.
Reproduced by The National Trust:
https://nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/597954.
Catalog Description: "Oil painting on panel, Elizabeth Knollys, Lady Leighton (b.1549), attributed to George Gower (c. 1540– London 1596), inscribed in far top left: 'Ano DNI 1577.' Above her to the top left is a coat of arms, above which are her initials, EK, flanking the family crest, an elephant. Daughter of Sir Francis Knollys and Katherine Carey; married Sir Thomas Leighton. Portrait of Lady Leighton as a young woman, head and shoulders, turned slightly to the left, gazing at spectator, reddish tightly curled hair, wearing an elaborately decorated and slashed dress of black and orange, high ruff and a tall-crowned black hat with a hat-band of jewels and a pink (?ostrich) feather fastened to the right with an elaborate jewel in the form of a starfish and corals. Among her many jewels are a Renaissance pendant at her breast in the form of a dove and snake, emblems of mildness and prudence respectively; another is of a parrot, all suspended by ropes of pearls forming a sash worn over her right shoulder and disappearing under her left arm."

14. Anne Knollys (1582), Robert Peake the Elder.
Mother: Anne Knollys (1555–1608), daughter of Sir Francis Knollys and Catherine Carey.
Oil paint on panel.
Reference: Object No. TL-17023.
Berger Collection Educational Trust, Denver Art Museum.

15. Lady De La Warr (c. 1630s), Circle of Cornelius Johnson.
Wife: Cecily [Cesellye] Shirley (c. 1542–1623), youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley and Anne Kempe.
Oil on canvas.
Reference: Acc. No. JYF2005.54.
Jamestown Settlement, Va.

16. Henry 4th Lord De La Warr (1627), Wybrand-Simonsz De Geest the Elder.
Son: Henry 4th Lord De La Warr (1603–1628).
Sold at Sotheby's, New York, 12 January, 1995 (Sale 6654), Lot 87, Private collection.

17. Lady de La Warr (c. 1638), Anthony van Dyck
Daughter-in-law: Isabella, Lady de La Warr (1607–1677?).
Oil on canvas.
Reference: Acc. No. 30.445.
Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston, Harriet J. Bradbury Fund. On view in the William I. Koch Gallery (Gallery 250).
Catalog description: "While in England as court painter to Charles I, Van Dyck executed refined portraits for the local aristocracy. Isabella, pictured here, was the daughter of diplomat Thomas Edmonds and wife of Henry, the 4th Lord de la Warr, also a diplomat and treasurer to Charles I. Van Dyck likely modeled her portrait on that of his slightly earlier Anne Killigrew, Mrs. Kirke (Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino, CA). In both paintings the sumptuously dressed women gesture to a rosebush—a possible allusion to love."
Note: Isabella's husband died at age 24, a full decade before her portrait was painted.

Colleagues: Underlings

18. Sir Thomas Dale (c. 1615), formerly attributed to the workshop of Jan Anthonisz van Ravesteyn, currently attributed to Marcus Geerearts.
Reference: Acc. No. 52.8.
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.
Reproduced by the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts:
https://vmfa.museum/piction/7898216-51978802.
Catalog description: "Depicted wearing fashionable period attire, including a flat lace collar, bulbous breeches, and black hose, Dale's professional identity as a commander is indicated by the armor resting on the table behind him."

19. Sir Thomas Gates (c. 1615), formerly attributed to the workshop of Jan Anthonisz van Ravesteyn.
Oil on canvas.
Bermuda Archives, at The Bermuda National Trust. Formerly hung in The Cabinet Office of Bermuda, Hamilton. As a result of queries for this article, the painting will be returned to display in 2024 at the Globe Museum, Bermuda. Personal communication to the author, Dr. Charlotte Andrews, Head of Cultural Heritage at The Bermuda Trust, April 2024.

20. Captain George Percy, 1580–1632 (1615), attributed to John de Critz.
Deputy (acting) Governor of Virginia, 1611.
Oil on panel, in a carved wood frame, 28 3/4 ins by 24 ins.
Description: Half-length, standing, three-quarters left. White shirt, red cloak over left shoulder and arm, his left hand with maimed second finger to outside of his mantle. Inscribed: "Captaine George Percy, brother to Henry Earle of Northumberland 1615."
Credit: Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Syon House.

21. Captain John Smith (1624), Simon van de Passe.
Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles (London: Printed by I.D. and I.H. for Michael Sparkes, 1624), after p. 202.
Reference: ESTC S111882.

Colleagues: Virginia Company Employers

22. Sir Thomas Smythe (1616) by Simon van de Passe.
Engraving.
Reference: NPG D26047.
National Portrait Gallery, London.
Reproduced by the National Portrait Gallery:
https://npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw129152.

23. Sir Thomas Smythe, oil on canvas.
Reference: Object No. Skinners004.
Description: Bust-length portrait owned by The Skinners' Company, of which Smythe was head, and kept at Skinners' Hall in London. He sports a gold-embroidered leather jerkin, lace trimmed plain white collar, a sword on either side, and elaborate sleeves.
Credit: By kind permission of The Skinners' Company.

24. Sir Edwin Sandys (1776) by Valentine Green, after unknown artist.
Mezzotint of Sir Edwin Sandys (1561–1629).
Reference: NPG D4173.
National Portrait Gallery, London.
Reproduced by the National Portrait Gallery:
https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw38444.

25. Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (c. 1618), after Daniel Mytens.
Reference: NPG 52.
National Portrait Gallery, London.
Reproduced by the National Portrait Gallery:
https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp04202/henry-wriothesley-3rd-earl-of-southampton.

26. Gentleman soldier.
Carved and incised bone inlay from Structure 191
Reproduced by Historic Jamestowne:
https://historicjamestowne.org/september-2012-2/carved-incised-bone-inlay-from-structure-191.
Credit: Jamestown Rediscovery, Historic Jamestowne.

27. Modern Reenactment of Lord De La Warr's arrival in 1609,
Video, Jamestown, Virginia. See the reenacted governor in fashionable attire at the end (5:44) of a discussion of seventeenth-century clothing:
https://www.jyfmuseums.org/learn/videos/historical-clothing.
Credit: Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.

Natural Designs: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and the Invention of New World Nature. By ELIZABETH GANSEN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2023. 248 pages. LCCN 2023009889. $55.00 hardback.

Natural Designs surveys the work of the first European to embark upon a natural history of the New World, the Spaniard Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557). Oviedo was the author of three works dedicated at least in part to the natural history of the New World. The slender *Sumario* (Toledo: 1526, USTC 336206[1]) and the lengthier *Historia general* (Sevilla: 1535, USTC 336203) were widely circulated, translated, and read during the sixteenth century, while the monumental *Historia general y natural de las Indias* remained unpublished until the nineteenth century. Each text revises, recycles, and expands upon its predecessors in ways that allow contemporary scholars to explore how Oviedo's approach to natural history changed over the course of his lifetime. Elizabeth Gansen's contribution to the scholarly conversation about Oviedo stands out for the way it situates Oviedo in the intellectual and artistic developments of the European Renaissance and for its brilliant analysis of the illustrations that Oviedo created to accompany his written work.

A brief introduction outlines the book and surveys Oviedo's life and career, while the first two chapters embed the historian in late-fifteenth-century debates over natural history and pictorial representation. Oviedo's writing makes no bones about his admiration for Pliny the Elder. Gansen takes us beyond Pliny's well-known role as Oviedo's intellectual and literary model by examining the debates that his *Natural History* triggered among Renaissance natural historians. It turns out that Oviedo's insistence on the importance of firsthand experience to the practice of natural history was not, as is often assumed, a spontaneous reaction to the novelty of the New World, but a principle that had grown out of humanist reflections on Pliny that Oviedo took with him to the New World. Oviedo may very well have encountered debates about this issue while serving as a courtier in Spain and, especially, in Italy, where he learned about Renaissance agronomy and gardening. This helped him develop an approach to the natural world that emphasized both aesthetics and practicality. His experience as a courtier also brought Oviedo into contact with such giants of Renaissance art as Andrea Mantegna, Leonardo da Vinci, and Alonso Berruguete, which taught Oviedo to value artistic naturalism but also to appreciate the limitations of pictorial representation.

The next two chapters (3 and 4) turn to the *Sumario* and the *Historia general,* respectively, and help us understand how Oviedo's Renaissance background

[1] Universal Short Title Catalogue, https://www.ustc.ac.uk.

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played out in these successive attempts to write the natural history of the New World. Written and published at the request of Charles V, the *Sumario* is easy to dismiss as an attempt to curry royal favor. Gansen, however, reads it against the background of the economic crisis that was plaguing the island of Hispaniola, where the demographic collapse of the indigenous population threatened the future of its principal industry, the extraction of precious metals. It is Oviedo the agronomist who stands out here, as he draws attention to the flora and fauna of the Caribbean as an unexploited resource that could provide the colonial project with a more sustainable and more lucrative basis to its economy. The chapter thus sheds a great deal of light on the purpose of natural history as Oviedo understood it. The next chapter, by contrast, shifts attention to the intellectual challenges Oviedo faced in grappling with his enormous subject and explores his methods. We learn how Oviedo handled different sources of information, like his own iterative experience of the world around him, singular encounters with natural phenomena (his own and others), and the wealth of indigenous lore without which the Spanish colonists could never have survived.

Chapter 5 turns to the illustrations Oviedo prepared to accompany his writing, including the four woodcuts that appear in the *Sumario*, the three in the *Historia natural*, and a series of drawings that appear in what is known as the Monserrat manuscript. These illustrations have captured the attention of many a scholar, but due in large measure to the disappointing simplicity of the woodcuts, have resisted compelling analysis. Why so many schematic images of individual leaves, for example? Gansen draws on methods developed by contemporary art historical scholarship to help us understand Oviedo's artistic choices better than anyone else has to date. It turns out that the very simplicity of the images can be understood as part of a deliberate strategy to highlight the aspects of a particular plant that were key to its correct identification. The argument is speculative but compelling, and I, for one, will never look at these woodcuts the same way again. The lovely drawings in the manuscript, meanwhile, raise interesting questions about the ways Oviedo imagined the relationship between image and text, and tell us a great deal about how his approach to botanical illustration developed over the years.

The next chapter (6) turns to a small number of images in the *Sumario* and the *Historia*, along with their accompanying text, to examine some of the political and epistemological limitations with which Oviedo had to contend. If chapter 3 provided us with an Oviedo who was enthusiastic about what natural history had to contribute to the colonial project, this one presents us with an Oviedo aggrieved with the state for granting a fellow Spaniard a monopoly on the cultivation and processing of a particular plant, and thereby inhibiting his ability to describe and illustrate it. The chapter also allows us to glimpse an Oviedo frustrated by the challenge of describing and illustrating two species, the cactus and the

iguana, that defied his attempts to capture natural realities using inherited categories and illustrative strategies. Here, more than anywhere in an argument that is constantly attuned to the many obstacles Oviedo faced and the way he tried to resolve them, we find an Oviedo on the brink of defeat by the enormity of the challenge he had set for himself.

I found the final chapter (7) somewhat disappointing after the heights reached by chapters 5 and 6. There, Gansen turns to one of the challenges posed by the Monserrat manuscript, the text that was supposed to become the *Historia general y natural*. She takes a stand in existing debates about when Oviedo made certain revisions in the manuscript, and benefits from access to newly discovered portions of this fragmented text. Basically, Gansen attempts to demonstrate that Oviedo was more systematic and farseeing in his plans for his *magnum opus* than others have made him out to be. While this argument might interest Oviedo scholars, it reads like insider baseball to this reader. I would have loved, moreover, for this chapter to have given way to a general conclusion that said something about Oviedo's significance to sixteenth-century natural history. Having begun with Oviedo's debt to the Renaissance, it would have been appropriate, I think, to end with the Renaissance's debt to him. In the absence of such a conclusion, I found that *Natural Designs*, a deeply erudite book written with breathtaking clarity, came to an all-too-sudden end.

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Awakening the Ashes: An Intellectual History of the Haitian Revolution. By MARLENE L. DAUT. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023. 440 pages. LCCN 2023029867. $99 hardback, $34.95 paperback.

There are two books struggling to emerge in Marlene Daut's *Awakening the Ashes*. One is a serious examination of the ways in which nineteenth-century Haitian authors used the legacy of the Haitian Revolution to challenge the racist and imperialist ideas of the white world, while the other is a polemic that perpetuates simplistic notions about the Haitian Revolution and its impact. In Daut's previous publications, she convincingly demonstrated both that a number of Haitian authors wrote works that were widely read outside the country and that Haiti was a major presence in nineteenth-century American, British, and French literature.[1] In her latest book, as she ventures more into the domain of history than that of literature, the results are less persuasive.

Daut's argument is that the leaders of the Haitian Revolution and the writers who celebrated their achievements in the nineteenth century made essential contributions to the struggles against colonialism, slavery, and racial prejudice and to the development of modern notions of democracy. Three initial chapters grouped under the heading of "Colonialism" deal with nineteenth-century authors' treatments of the fate of Haiti's original Indigenous population, pre-revolutionary slavery, and racial prejudice. A second section on "Independence" includes chapters on "revolution," "abolition," and "freedom," and the book's third section, "Sovereignty," treats post-revolutionary contributions to anti-colonialism, antislavery, and anti-racism.

Daut's case for the importance of nineteenth-century Haitian writers is certainly justified, but the way in which she presents it is often exaggerated and confusing. The book's focus shifts back and forth from Daut's announced subject—the representation of the Haitian Revolution in the works of post-revolutionary writers—to the nature of the events themselves. When she turns to the historical record, she ignores much of the recent historical scholarship in the field, such as John Garrigus's research on the Makandal affair, Sudhir Hazareesingh's biography of Toussaint Louverture, Johnhenry Gonzales's exploration of peasant resistance to forced labor, and Chelsea Stieber's study of post-revolutionary Haitian political thought, as well as older works directly relevant to her argument, such as Claude Moïse's analysis of the Haitian constitutional tradition.[2]

[1] Daut's earlier publications include *Tropics of History: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), *Baron de Vastey and the Origins of Black Atlantic Humanism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), and *Haitian Revolutionary Fictions: An Anthology*, co-edited with Grégory Pierrot and Marion C. Rohrleitner (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2022).

[2] John D. Garrigus, *A Secret among the Blacks: Slave Resistance before the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2023); Sudhir Hazareesingh, *Black Spartacus: The Epic*

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She also mischaracterizes several key historical documents. Toussaint Louverture's "proclamation of Turel" in 1793, with the well-known line, "You have perhaps heard of my name," was actually a letter that may not even have reached its addressees; it was certainly not a "famous speech" (141). Louverture's purported dialogue with his white rival Sonthonax in 1797, which Daut cites repeatedly, was, as Louverture biographer Sudhir Hazareesingh has written, "a magnificent piece of creative fiction" composed to discredit a political rival, not a "word for word" (138) transcription of an actual conversation. The notorious Napoleonic racial rant she quotes was not an official "consular address" and was not made in 1799 (168-69). It is purportedly from a private conversation in 1801, recorded in a Napoleonic official's memoir published years later.[3]

In her zeal to present the Haitian Revolution as an event more significant than the American or French movements, Daut makes several dubious claims. Her assertion that "it was the Haitian Revolution and Haitian independence that forced anti-colonial, antislavery and anti-racist ideas into the modern political grammar" (xviii) ignores the extensive abolitionist literature published in Britain, America, and France prior to the Haitian uprising. Much of the rhetoric of documents such as the Haitian declaration of independence closely echoes earlier French writings, such as the famous passage from Raynal's *History of the Two Indies* predicting that "the fields of America will be intoxicated by the blood that they have awaited for so long" that has striking parallels with the language of Dessalines's proclamations. Daut repeatedly credits Haiti with initiating a worldwide movement against colonialism, on the grounds that the country's early constitutions promised that it would never seek to acquire territory outside of its home island. However, these promises all explicitly stated that Haiti would not try to destabilize the European powers' slave colonies in the Caribbean.

Daut repeatedly condemns the French Revolution as "incoherent" (76, 87, 169, 178) because of the contradiction between its proclamation of inalienable rights and its hesitations about abolishing slavery. She makes no distinction between the republican regime of 1794–1799, which did grant freedom and citizenship to the Blacks in most of its colonies, and Napoleon's dictatorship, which repealed those laws. Although she acknowledges the contradictions in some aspects of the Haitian movement, such as Louverture's and Dessalines's efforts to

Life of Toussaint Louverture (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020); Johnhenry Gonzalez, *Maroon Nation: A History of Revolutionary Haiti* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019); Chelsea Stieber, *Haiti's Paper War: Post-Independence Writing, Civil War, and the Making of the Republic, 1804–1954* (New York: New York University Press, 2020); Claude Moïse, *Constitutions et luttes de pouvoir en Haïti, 1804–1987*, 2 vols. (Montréal: Editions du CIDIHCA, 1988), and *Le Projet national de Toussaint Louverture et la constitution de 1801* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Mémoire, 2001).

[3] Antoine-Clair Thibaudeau, *Mémoires sur le Consulat, de 1799 à 1804, par un ancien conseiller d'État* (Paris: Chez Ponthieu, 1827), 120.

impose forced labor on the rural population, she brushes over the dictatorial nature of the two Haitian leaders' regimes. She dismisses the killings of white French civilians and prisoners of war in 1804 as "so-called massacres" (214), ignoring both the extensive documentation about these events and the explicit condemnations of them by the nineteenth-century Haitian historians Madiou and Ardouin, whom she elsewhere rightfully praises for their "contributions to historical thought" (xvii).[4] *Awakening the Ashes* would be more persuasive if its author had acknowledged, as Madiou and Ardouin did in the 19th century and as present-day Haitian studies scholars such as Robert Fatton and Alex Dupuy have done more recently, that the Haitian Revolution, like the American and French movements, had both positive and negative aspects, reflecting, for better and for worse, the common humanity of their participants.[5]

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[4] On the 1804 massacres, see Jeremy D. Popkin, "Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Norbert Thoret, and the Violent Aftermath of the Haitian Declaration of Independence," in *The Haitian Declaration of Independence: Creation, Context, and Legacy*, ed. Julia Gaffield (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 115-35.

[5] See Robert Fatton, Jr., *The Roots of Haitian Despotism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007) and Alex Dupuy, *Rethinking the Haitian Revolution: Slavery, Independence, and the Struggle for Recognition* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019).

The Tapuia of Northeastern Brazil in Dutch Sources (1628–1648). By MARTIJN VAN DEN BEL AND MARIANA FRANÇOZO. The Early Americas: History and Culture 11. Leiden: Brill, 2023. 290 pages. LCCN 2023029767. $142.00 hardback. Open Access E-book (PDF): https://brill.com/display/title/64687.

When Indigenous peoples are discussed in the history of early colonial Brazil (1500–1700), the focus is traditionally on the coastal Tupi-speaking peoples. Often neglected are the Indigenous peoples who lived in the Brazilian hinterland, referred to by the Tupis and the Portuguese as the *Tapuias*. The term *Tapuia* was a Tupi word for *slaves,* according to the Jesuit José de Anchieta. The Tarairius, one of the Tapuia peoples, were important military allies of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) during its conquest of northeastern Brazil from the 1620s to the early 1650s. The Tarairius also became the object of fascination for Dutch scholars and artists, most spectacularly through the life-size paintings of Tarairiu men and women by Albert Eckhout. Many (art-)historians have analyzed the famous images of the Tapuias made by Eckhout and others. Van den Bel and Françozo's collection of fifteen primary sources now brings together, in English, some of the rich written materials about the Tapuias from the WIC period.

The quality of this source publication is strong. After a brief general introduction examining the history of the Tapuia peoples and their relations with the WIC, each of the fifteen documents is briefly introduced, transcribed in the original language (Dutch, French, or Latin), and then translated into modern English translation with footnotes. A glossary of Dutch and Portuguese terms, as well as a bibliography, are also included. Overall, the editorial comments in the notes are helpful, except on one occasion, where a species of fish that is described in very similar terms ("Karsa" and "Carsva," a fish resembling a pig) in two separate sources is identified by the editors in the first as a "cayman or manatee" (p. 123), and in the second as a piranha (p. 145).

The fifteen sources can be organized into two categories. Documents 1-7 are archival sources and manuscripts covering the period from 1628 to 1634, when the WIC was trying to gather intelligence about the Tapuia peoples, particularly the Tarairius who lived in the captaincy of Rio Grande. The period ended when the WIC established an alliance with the Tarairius "king" Nhanduí in 1634. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this group of sources is that Potiguar individuals played an influential role as interpreters and mediators for the WIC. The Potiguars are a Tupi people from northeastern Brazil who closely aligned themselves with the Dutch against the Portuguese. Some of the Potiguars had lived in the Republic in the late 1620s, where they learned Dutch. Surprisingly, the Potiguar interpreters had great difficulty communicating with the Tarairius, indicating that the linguistic divide was significant.

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The WIC had great expectations of their alliance with the Tarairius because the latter had a fearsome reputation among the Tupis and the Portuguese. The WIC commander of the fort in Rio Grande entertained Nhanduí and his people, who had come down to the coast in great numbers in 1634. Nhanduí received European clothes appropriate for his status, including a hat with feathers and a rapier. Canons were fired from the fort, and trumpets were played to impress the Tarairius, who reciprocated with songs and dances. Despite the diplomatic pleasantries, it quickly became clear to the Dutch that the Tarairius were problematic as allies because they had hostile relations with many of the Tupi peoples in the region. Worse, the Tarairius frequently killed Portuguese settlers, which undermined the WIC policy of cultivating friendly relations with the Portuguese in Brazil. Finally, WIC officials were concerned about Tarairiu ceremonies which they perceived as devil worship. For these reasons, the WIC did not make much use of the Tarairius as military allies during the conquest of Brazil after 1634.

The second category of sources (documents 8-15) are for the most part proto-ethnographic accounts of the Tapuias/Tarairius based on observations from WIC officials and liaison officers. Some of the accounts were published by the officials themselves, but most were edited and published by Dutch scholars in the Republic. The descriptions of the Tapuias are similar in content and sometimes borrow from each other. Themes covered include physical appearance, gender roles, the status of Nhanduí, wedding ceremonies, tree trunk races, children's initiations through piercings, endocannibalism, and soothsaying or divination rituals. Surprisingly, the practice of endocannibalism is described in most accounts in a neutral manner. The divination rituals receive a lot of attention and are frequently referred to as devil worship. It would have been helpful if the editors had explained the Tapuia rituals and ceremonies from a modern anthropological viewpoint.

The editors could also have reflected more in this section on the scholarly fascination with the Tapuias in the Republic in the 1630s and 1640s. This is most evident in the description of the Tapuias in document 11 by Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649), a professor of philosophy and theology at Leiden University. He included a brief account of the Tapuias, based on information from a senior military officer of the WIC in Brazil, in a book on non-Christian religions which he published in 1641. The description is remarkable for its lack of strongly dismissive views of Tapuia culture and religion. Although Vossius argues that the Tapuia soothsaying practices are based on deceit and tricks, he admits that some of their predictions turned out to be accurate.

The most valuable primary source included in the collection is document 15, the English translation of the journal of Roelof Baro, a Dutch mediator who maintained diplomatic relations with the Tarairius on behalf of the WIC in the 1640s. Until now, the lengthy diary of his expedition to the Tarairius in 1647 was

only available in a French publication from 1651 (document 15's copytext, as Baro's original writing is lost) and in a twentieth-century Portuguese translation. The diary is the most detailed eyewitness account of a Tapuia people from the Dutch period in Brazil. Baro appears to have been one of a handful of Europeans who were fluent in the Tarairiu language. The diary details the four-month-long expedition that Baro made to the Tarairius in the hinterland of the captaincy of Rio Grande in 1647. Baro made this voyage to repair the strained relations between the Tarairius and the WIC. The WIC did not want to lose the Tarairius as allies because Portuguese rebels at this time threatened the survival of Dutch Brazil.

Baro's diary gives fascinating details about life in the sparsely colonized region of northeastern Brazil during the mid-seventeenth century. Travel conditions in the rough terrain were miserable, and Baro was unable to make any significant progress because of the rainy season for weeks. On his diplomatic mission, Baro was accompanied by a Polish-born WIC employee, one Tupi man, three Tarairius, and four dogs used to hunt wild boars. When Baro finally met Nhanduí, the latter argued that the Portuguese gave much more valuable gifts than the Dutch. Surprisingly, Baro did not carry any gifts with him, although two of his Black slaves later met the party with tobacco he gave to the Tarairius. For weeks, Baro traveled with Nhanduí and his people through the interior. During this time, Baro frequently witnessed ceremonies such as tree running, marriages, child initiations, and divination rituals. Baro found some of the ceremonies lengthy and tedious. Like the other eyewitness accounts, Baro also describes the practice of endocannibalism without casting any strong judgment. What stands out in the diary are the tense meetings between Nhanduí and Baro. The Tarairius were desperate to receive WIC military support in their wars against other Indigenous peoples in the region. Baro was sympathetic to Nhanduí, but he also explained that his superiors based in Recife, the capital of Dutch Brazil, had the final say in sending military aid to the Tarairius. The impression Baro's diary leaves of the Tarairius is of an autonomous people surrounded by hostile neighbors in a harsh environment. For the Tarairius, the Dutch-Portuguese war for Brazil was of secondary importance.

In the brief epilogue, the editors should have discussed a bit more the fate of the Tarairius and other Tapuia peoples after the Dutch were driven from Brazil in 1654. Arguably, this is not the book's main concern, but the reader feels confused after the abrupt ending of Baro's diary in 1647. Another issue the editors could have expanded upon is the role of the Tapuia slave trade. There is a brief reference to a Portuguese enslaver of Indigenous people in document 3, which contains the testimony of Andries Tacoe, a Tupi man instructed by the WIC to establish contact with the Tarairius in 1631. The Tapuia peoples were frequent targets of Portuguese slave raids. Not surprisingly, fierce Tapuia

resistance against the Portuguese was largely driven by these slave expeditions. But the WIC also participated in slave raids against the Tapuias, and there are frequent references in WIC archival sources to Tapuia slaves being held by Dutch officials and settlers in Brazil. The editors could have referenced the expedition into the northern interior captaincy of Ceará by the German scientist Georg Marcgraf in 1639. This expedition was made for scientific purposes but also to capture Tapuia slaves. The diary of this voyage, published by Ernst van den Boogaart and Rebecca Parker Brienen in 2002, does not contain many observations about the life of the Tapuia peoples but sheds important light on the widespread European enslavement of the Tapuias.[1]

Overall, though, this collection will be valuable for ethnohistorians of early colonial Brazil, students of Dutch Brazil, and those interested in early anthropology.

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[1] Ernst van den Boogaart and Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Information from Ceará from Georg Marcgraf (June–August 1639)*. Vol. 1 of *Brazil Holandês/Dutch Brazil*, eds. Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Index, 2002).